









# HERODOTOS


VIII 1—90

(ARTEMISIUM AND SALAMIS)

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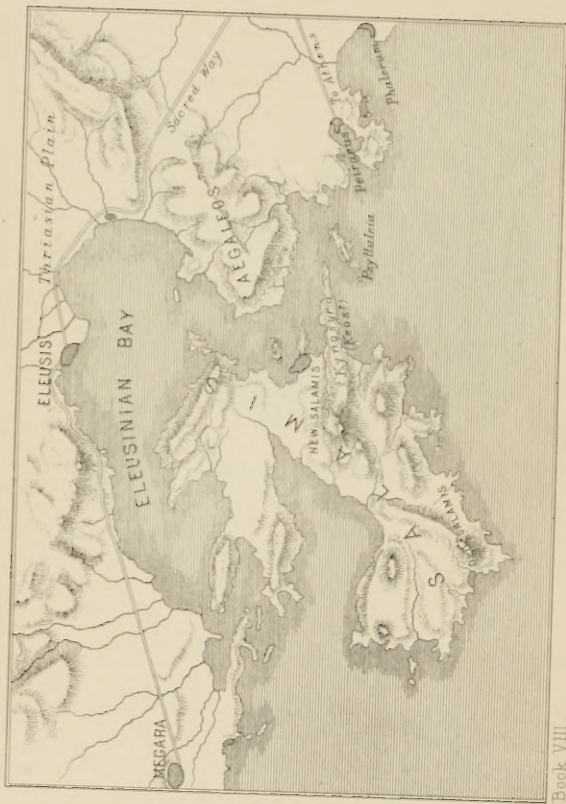
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Book VIII.

# BATTLE OF SALAMIS.

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Herodotus

# HERODOTUS

VIII 1—90

(ARTEMISIUM AND SALAMIS)

*WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES*

BY

E. S. SHUCKBURGH, M.A.

LATE FELLOW OF EMMANUEL COLLEGE CAMBRIDGE  
FORMERLY MASTER AT ETON

*EDITED FOR THE SYNDICS OF THE UNIVERSITY PRESS*

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## PREFACE.

THIS edition of the first ninety chapters of the eighth book of Herodotos is designed to help students in all difficulties connected with the Greek language which the chapters contain, and also to supply them with full information as to the historical facts which they include, or to which they refer. I have hoped by the Historical and Geographical Index to help students to take a somewhat wider interest in Hellenic history, which is too apt to mean with most of us merely the history of Athens and Sparta. My chief obligations, acknowledged frequently in the notes, are among others to the editions of *Dr K. Abicht*, Leipzig, 1882; and *Dr H. Stein*, Berlin, 1882. Much illustrative matter, however, which I have found for myself, or which has long been the common property of scholars, I have not thought it necessary to put down to the credit of those editors, although it may be often found in their works.

CAMBRIDGE, *March*, 1887.



## INTRODUCTION.

WHEN Darius died (B.C. 485) he left two tasks unfinished,—the subjugation of Greece for which he had made vast preparations, and on which his heart had been firmly set; and the reduction of a great revolt in Egypt.

The latter of these tasks engaged the attention of his successor first. It was thoroughly accomplished by B.C. 483; Egypt was brought to a state of still greater dependence than before, placed under the charge of Achaemenes one of the king's brothers, and forced to assist in the expedition against Greece [Her. 7, 1—7].

Xerxes now determined to carry out the other task, the subjugation of Greece. For this purpose preparations on a vast scale were made. All parts of the great empire were ordered to furnish men, provisions, money, and ships [7, 23—5]. Two expeditions had been attempted before; the first, under Mardonius, was conveyed by a fleet coasting down from the Thracian shore towards the south, but had been ruined by shipwreck while rounding the promontory of Athos [B.C. 492]: a second had crossed the Aegean by way of the islands and had been defeated at Marathon [B.C. 490]. But the present plan embraced a double method of attack. A fleet was to start from

B.C. 483—1.

the Hellespont and coast along the shore of Greece to the Peloponnese; while, keeping as nearly parallel with the fleet as possible, a grand army was to cross the Hellespont and march through Makedonia, Thessaly, and Boeotia into Attica, and thence to the Peloponnese. To secure the passage of these two armaments, a bridge of ships had, after one failure, been constructed across the Hellespont, while a canal had been dug across the neck of the peninsula of Athos.

These two works, constructed principally by the skilful engineers of Phoenikia, were well conceived and proved of the utmost service to the expedition. The shipment of so vast an army across the Hellespont would have occupied an inconveniently long time; while the canal enabled the fleet to avoid a headland which had already proved fatal to one Persian fleet, and was an object of terror to the sailors of the Levant.

By the Autumn of B.C. 481 both fleet and army were ready for starting in the following spring. The fleet consisted of 1207 ships of war, with innumerable other ships laden with provisions and material of war; the army, when numbered after crossing the Hellespont, amounted according to Herodotos to 517,610 men, without counting servants and camp-followers [7, 184]<sup>1</sup>. Nor was the greatness of his army all that Xerxes could reckon upon in calculating his chances of success against Greece. A large part of the European country he was about to traverse already owned his authority. The parts of Thrace and Makedonia which bordered on the sea had submitted to Darius; and the suppression of the Ionian revolt had

<sup>1</sup> Herodotos reckons the whole number of land and sea forces at 2,317,610, without counting servants, or the crews of provision-ships.



placed the Islands of the Aegean north of Krete in the power of Persia, even including the Cyclades with the exception of some few south of Delos. And in Greece itself nearly all states north of Attica from policy or fear medised. The powerful family of the Aleuadae of Larissa had even invited the invasion, and though their action was not universally approved in Thessaly, the loyal party of Thessalians were too feeble to resist [7, 130, 172; 9, 1]. The Phokians were divided, but only a section of them ventured to offer a fitful resistance from their hiding-places on Parnassos [8, 32; 9, 17—8]; in Boeotia an overwhelming majority of states medised, only Plataea standing fast to its loyalty to Athens, while the Thespians abandoned their town and sought refuge in the Peloponnese. It was clear therefore that it was from Attica, and the states south of Attica, that resistance must come if it came at all. But even in the Peloponnese itself the important district of Argolis, with the insignificant exceptions of Mycenae and Tiryns, was ready, in their hatred of Sparta, to welcome the Barbarian [7, 150—2]. Still the greater part of the Peloponnese was loyal, and preparations were being made in Southern Greece to meet the storm.

The first news of the impending invasion is said to have been conveyed to Sparta by the exiled Demaratus, who was living at the Persian court [7, 239]. The great army was in winter quarters at Sardis and its neighbourhood when the first step was taken by a Congress of representatives from various loyal States meeting on the Isthmos of Corinth [7, 145]. This Congress seems to have met late in the year 481, and, while sending spies to Sardis to learn the truth about the vast preparations which the king was re-

B.C. 481.

ported to be making, sent at the same time envoys to various distant states calling upon them to aid the cause of Hellenic liberty.

The spies sent to Sardis were captured, but by the king's order were shown all the preparations of his camp, and allowed to return home in hopes that their report might deter the Greeks from venturing upon further resistance [7, 146].

Nor did the envoys sent to Greek states meet with success. The Argives absolutely refused all help, on the ground that the envoys did not bring authority to conclude a 30 years' peace between them and the Lacedaemonians, nor were able to admit their claim to a joint command: though the real reason seems to have been that they had already made terms with Persia [7, 148—152]. The tyrant Gelo of Syracuse also refused aid on the pretext of the rejection of his claim to command by sea or land; really perhaps because he was himself threatened with an invasion from Carthage [7, 157—165]. The Kretans referred the matter to Delphi. But the Oracle was temporizing<sup>1</sup> and gave an unfavourable reply, and they therefore declined to join in resistance [7, 169]. The Korkyreans indeed promised help and actually manned 60 triremes. But this squadron had secret orders to linger round the west and south of the Peloponnese, and wait to see which side would win; conduct which they afterwards tried to cover by alleging contrary winds as the cause of their absence from Salamis [7, 169]<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See note on p. 21, l. 19.

<sup>2</sup> The selfish policy of the Korkyreans seems to have been characteristic. See Thucyd. 1, 31, 2 οὐδενὸς Ἑλλήνων ἐνσπονδοί *cp.* c. 32 *ibid.*

The envoys therefore had met with nothing but coldness and rebuffs. The best report was brought by those sent to Thessaly. They brought word that the Thessalians had promised to help in guarding the defile of Tempe, between Olympus and Ossa [7, 175]. A certain number of ships were accordingly sent to Halos, where 10,000 soldiers were B.C. 480. landed and proceeded on foot to Tempe; the Athenian contingent being under the command of Themistokles<sup>1</sup>. But they remained there only a few days. Alexander of Makedonia warned them that the pass was too wide to be defended against the superior numbers of the enemy. This warning, backed by the knowledge that the pass of Tempe was not the only one into Thessaly, induced this force to withdraw to their ships and return home [7, 172—4]. This abortive expedition took place early in the spring of 480 B.C. just when the royal army was in the act of crossing the Hellespont.

The upshot of these transactions was that, Thessaly being definitely abandoned, the Thessalians were compelled to submit unconditionally to the Persians as well as much of the country south of Thessaly: and that it became necessary for the Congress of the Isthmos to reconsider their plan of campaign.

The Congress now decided on sending troops to guard the pass of Thermopylae, between Mount Oeta and the sea, both as being narrow enough to be defended, and as being a single one, for they knew nothing of the path which was afterwards treacherously pointed out to the Persians. At the same time messages were sent to the various states that could provide ships to muster them at Pōgōn the harbour of Troezen [8, 42], for

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, *Them.* 7.

the purpose of proceeding to Artemisium, that the invaders might be met by sea and land at places nearly opposite each other.

But these arrangements seem to have taken a considerable time. For it was not until news came that *June-July.*  
*B.C. 490.* Xerxes was in Pieria, the southern district of Makedonia, that the leaders assembled in the Isthmos hurried off to their respective posts at Thermopylae and Artemisium [7, 177].

The Spartans had taken the initiative in sending to Thermopylae a small force of 300 citizens with their helots under the king Leonidas, that the allies might be encouraged to do the same; and eventually there were mustered under his command 2700 men from various cities in the Peloponnese, with 400 from Thebes, 700 from Thespiæ, and about 1500 Phokians and Opuntian Lokrians. The Spartans looked upon this force as a mere advanced guard. They were kept at home by the approach of the festival of the Karneia, which hardly any extremity of danger would induce them to neglect. They expected that Leonidas would be able to hold the pass long enough to enable the main army to come to his support [7, 206].

The Athenians were not represented in this army. Their whole energies and all their available men were devoted to strengthening the fleet, to which they contributed almost as many vessels as all other states put together.

Meanwhile the two armies of the Persian host were steadily approaching. Starting from Therma (Thessalonika) eleven days in advance of the navy the land forces made their way unopposed through Thessaly and Phthiotis (Achaia). They kept the road by the sea coast

in order to pass most easily the range of Orthrys, and descended into Malis. There the chain of Oeta runs close down to the sea, leaving what was then an extremely narrow passage, but which now presents quite a different appearance. The sea has receded, and the Spercheios has brought down so much alluvial deposit that its course is changed, and a broad piece of marshy land covered with rice fields stretches between the mountains and the sea.

The pass at that time began after crossing from the north the mountain stream Asopos; and its narrowest point was a little further south still, where a small tributary of the Asopos, the Phoenix, flowed down from the hills. Behind this pass, 'where there is only a narrow causeway wide enough for a single carriage', there was a plain  $1\frac{3}{4}$  miles long ending in the hot springs and the village round them, and containing another village called Anthela. At either end of this the two armies were stationed [7, 200—1], while between them was the wall built by the Phokians as a protection against their Thesalian enemies [7, 176].

Xerxes could not believe that such a puny force would venture to withstand his 'grand army'. But finding that there were no signs of giving in on the part of the Greeks, after waiting four days, on the fifth he sent some Medes and Kissians to clear the way. They were beaten back with considerable loss, and even the Persian 'Immortals' fared no better.

Similar attempts next day met with no better success. The narrowness of the ground made large numbers a disadvantage rather than an aid, and the Greeks were armed with longer spears than their

*1st day's fighting at Thermopylae.*

*2nd day.*

enemies, and with heavy serviceable shields, which here, as afterwards at Plataea, gave them a vast superiority in a charge and at close quarters [7, 212].

But in the evening of that day a Malian named Ephialtes demanded an audience of the king; and being admitted offered to discover a pathway over the height called Kallidromos, which would conduct troops to the rear of the Greeks. Xerxes, who had watched the failure of his troops with every sign of violent emotion and anxiety, gladly accepted the proposal. At nightfall, just as the watchfires were being lit, 10,000 of the Immortals led by Hydarnes started under the guidance of Ephialtes to cross this height. By day break they were approaching the summit. Just below the crest 1000 Phokians had been stationed to guard against the possibility of this danger<sup>1</sup>. The hill was thickly covered with oak forest, and no sight of the coming enemy was possible even in the

*3rd day.*

moonlight. But through the clear morning air the sound of their trampling through the brushwood was carried to the ears of the Phokian thousand. Yet their warning was brief: the Persians seemed to start suddenly into view, surprised no less than themselves to see a body of men hastily getting under arms where they had expected a bare mountain top. They fancied that they were the dreaded Spartans who had beaten them the day before: but reassured by Ephialtes, who told them the truth, they began pouring in volleys of arrows. The Phokians did not hold their ground, but fled hastily to the crest of the hill and there drew up. The Persians did not continue

<sup>1</sup> Her. 7, 217. For the existence of this path was well known in the Greek camp, although it had been unknown to the Congress, see 7, 175.



the attack, but following the path that wound round the slope avoided the hill top, and descended with all speed on the other side.

News had come early to the Greeks below at Thermopylae that they were betrayed. The sacrifices were unfavourable, and deserters came in bringing the intelligence; and these were soon followed by their own scouts, running down the hill with the fatal news. The allies immediately decided to depart, or as some said were dismissed by Leonidas that no more Hellenic lives should be lost. For him and his 300 the idea of retreat was intolerable. It was the duty of a Spartan to die at his post if necessary; it was an undying disgrace to quit it. With him the Thebans and Thespians alone remained; but with very different sentiments. The Thespians like the Spartans preferred death to deserting the post of danger: the Thebans, whose state was known to be medising, were retained by Leonidas as hostages, and took the first opportunity offered them in the battle of consummating the treason of their government.

At sunrise Xerxes poured libations to his god; and about 10 in the morning started once more for the pass. The Spartans, knowing themselves to be surrounded, were now grown desperate. They quitted the shelter of the Phokian wall and advanced into the wider part of the pass. A determined hand to hand fight followed: two of the king's half-brothers fell, many of the Persians were thrust into the sea, while many more were trodden to death by the feet of their own men. Presently Leonidas fell, and an obstinate battle raged round his corpse. But while engaged in this fierce struggle the Spartans found that the 'Immortals' who had been led over the hill were on their rear. They made one more desperate charge;

forced their way back to the Phokian wall, and thence to a piece of elevated ground; and there for some time maintained a gallant defence, with swords and hands and even teeth; till, completely surrounded, they were overwhelmed with missiles and perished to a man<sup>1</sup> [7, 223—5].

Such was the famous battle of Thermopylae. Its result was to leave the way clear to Xerxes to advance on Attica, the chief object of his expedition. The whole army therefore moved forward to Panopeis on the frontier of Boeotia, and there divided into two columns; the one with the king continuing its advance steadily towards Athens,—the other taking guides marched towards Delphi wasting the country as they went. The fortunes of the first column are recounted in cc. 51—55 of the text as far as their seizure of Athens, and capture of the Acropolis; while the proceedings of the column which was sent against Delphi are described in cc. 34—39.

The battle of Thermopylae was almost simultaneous with the three days' sea-fighting at Artemisium; and the proceedings of the Navy occupy the rest of the chapters of this book of Herodotos.

About the same time as Leonidas had started for Thermopylae, such of the ships as were ready proceeded to Artemisium, the rest being told to come to Pōgōn as soon as possible, and thence to join the main fleet wherever it might be [c. 42]. In the earlier chapters the doings of this fleet are detailed; their retreat to Chalkis; their return to Artemisium; their three days' skirmishing fight with the Persian fleet; and their back-

<sup>1</sup> Only one man—Aristodemus—survived, who was not actually engaged. But his life was made such a burden to him that he courted and found death next year at Plataea, 9, 71.

ward movement on hearing of the disaster at Thermopylae [cc. 4—20]. Then comes the history of the bay of Salamis, and the divisions in the counsels of the fleet as to whether it were better to fight there or nearer the Isthmos where the army was mustering; the trick of Themistokles; and the final struggle and victory [cc. 40—90].

Though the combined fleet was commanded by the Spartan Eurybiades, yet it cannot be too clearly understood that Athens was the life and soul of this patriotic effort. Of the 268 ships which were serving at Artemisium Athens supplied and manned 127, and lent 20 to the Chalkidians; and when the fleet was subsequently reinforced in the bay of Salamis by ships from other states, this proportion was still maintained; Athens supplying 180 triremes out of a total of 378<sup>1</sup>. And besides this superiority in numbers, it was the Athenian Themistokles who more than any other commander held the allies together, and by every means, persuasion, bribery, and threats, induced them to present a united front to the enemy.

The story of the decisive battle of Salamis is tolerably clear in Herodotos; but we have the good fortune to possess also the statement of an eye-witness, one actually engaged in the battle. And though this narrative is thrown into a poetical form, there seems every reason to suppose that it is meant to be a true and accurate account. The poet Aeschylos has put into the mouth of a messenger to Queen Atossa a detailed description of the battle, and though that description tallies generally with the account of Herodotos there are two points in which there is some difficulty in reconciling the two.

1. The first as might be expected is a question of

<sup>1</sup> Or 366. See notes on c. 48.

numbers. Herodotos (8, 48) reckons the numbers of the Greek triremes at 378: Aeschylus (*Pers.* 340—2) at 310. The difference may be accounted for I think by supposing Aeschylus to be speaking of the number of the ships actually engaged, while Herodotos takes the tale of ships originally supplied, which each state would afterwards take care to have set down as their contribution. It seems probable however that some managed to get away when the alarm caused by the capture of Athens first fell upon the fleet (8, 56); and we are told that the 40 Corinthian ships did in point of fact avoid engaging (8, 94). Thucydides represents the Athenian envoy in B.C. 432 as reckoning the number of the united fleet to be 400 [1, 74, 1]: but the orator is evidently speaking in round numbers, and is more intent on emphasizing the proportion which the Athenian ships bore to the whole than on accuracy of totals. Still wider differences are to be found in later writers. Ktesias, a contemporary of Xenophon, stated the number as 700 [Photios 72]; but his whole account of the campaign is so confused that not much weight is to be attached to his authority. Demosthenes [*de Coron.* 306] states the number as 300, in which he is nearly in agreement with Aeschylus. But the same criticism applies to him as to the speech in Thucydides. He is speaking in round numbers, and intent chiefly on showing that the Athenians contributed about two-thirds of the whole. I believe, then, that Herodotos gives the official list of ships supplied, Aeschylus the actual numbers engaged.

2. The second point in which there is some difficulty is connected with the movements of the Persian fleet the night before the battle. In c. 76 Herodotos says

that when the king had received as in good faith the message sent him by Themistokles three steps were taken in consequence. *First*, Psyttaleia was occupied; *secondly*, at midnight the right (or westernmost) wing was moved forward 'close to Salamis by way of surrounding [the enemy]'; *thirdly*, the left wing which lay off Keos and Kynosura<sup>1</sup> filled all the strait between Salamis and Munychia. It is the second of these movements that seems inadequately described by Herodotos. Aeschylus says distinctly that the Persian fleet was divided into three, and that one of these divisions was sent round Salamis<sup>2</sup>; and Diodoros (II, 17) says that it was the Egyptians who were sent 'to barricade the strait between Salamis and the Megarid'. Rawlinson suggests that the second movement was not *round*

<sup>1</sup> As to the position of these places see Historical and Geogr. Index. The three views regarding them are (1) *Blakesley's*, who regards them as indicating the Kynosura near Marathon and the Island of Keos. The objection is that this extension of the Persian line is much too great, and the time assigned for such a movement (in that case) much too short. (2) *Stein's*, who thinks these two names refer to the same tongue of land on the S. of Salamis, one of them being the ordinary, the other the less known name. See note on the passage. The objection to this is that the geography is entirely conjectural: while on the other hand its advantage is that it suits the words of Herod. better than any other, 'the ships round K. and K. put to sea and occupied all the strait up to Munychia' seems to imply that Herod. is conceiving them as starting from Salamis. (3) *Grote's*, who looks upon these names as belonging to two unknown spots on the coast of Attica. This involves geography equally conjectural as the last, and does not explain the movement so satisfactorily.

<sup>2</sup> *Pers.* 370 ἄλλας δὲ κύκλῳ νῆσον Αἶαντος πέριξ. Hence some would read in c. 76 κυκλοῦμενοι πέριξ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα instead of πρὸς.

Salamis, but close along its northern shore so as to pass the Greek fleet. The object of blocking up the strait between Salamis and Megara would thus be equally secured. But I think the account of Aeschylus, as an eye-witness of the particular manner in which this object was secured, deserves the greater credence; and moreover, if the movement was as Rawlinson supposed, and as certainly seems deducible from Herodotus, on the *inside* between Salamis and Attica, the men of the Greek fleet would have seen it for themselves, and would not have required the information of the Tenian trierarch (c. 82), nor would Aristides have been an 'eye-witness' of the movement on his voyage from Aegina (c. 78—79).

In order to enable the student to compare the two accounts, as well as to appreciate the feelings with which this great achievement was regarded, the following nearly literal translation of the speech of the Persian Messenger in the play of Aeschylus is appended<sup>1</sup>:

Madam, the fountain-head of all our woe  
 was, sure, some vengeful sprite or baleful god.  
 Thus 'twas: to Xerxes from the Attic host  
 a man of Hellas came with words like these:  
 'Soon as the shade of black-browed night shall fall  
 'the Greeks will stay no more: the rowers' bench  
 'will they spring on, departing for dear life,  
 'one this way and one that, in secret flight'.  
 So spake he: and my Lord knew not his guile,  
 his true Greek guile, nor all the hate of heaven;  
 but bade his captains straight obey this word:  
 'Soon as the sun has ceased with rays t' illumine  
 'the earth, and darkness holds the court of heaven,  
 'range ye my ships in triple line, and guard  
 'the straits and outlets of the running tides:  
 'others send circling round the isle of Ajax.  
 'Nay! if the Hellenes 'scape the woe of death  
 'your heads shall answer it: this is my doom'.  
 Thus spake he with a heart bemused, and blind

<sup>1</sup> *Persae*, 355—434.



to all the ill that fate and God had willed.

So they, in no disorder, but with minds attuned to discipline, begat them straight to their poor meal; and every sailor looped his oar upon the thole, and made all well. But when the light o' the sun had paled and gone and night was drawing on, each man of them that plied an oar betook him to his ship, and every captain of the armed host: warship to warship passed a word of cheer: and on they float each keeping order due. So all night long the masters of the ships held all their folk to labour at the oar, thridding the narrow seas: and night waned fast, yet never did the Hellenes strive to make a secret way of flight, or raise a sail. But when the white car of the risen day held all the earth with the sweet rays of dawn, first rang there forth from the Hellenic host a loud clear note, like to some joyous hymn; and sharp and clear from rock and island came an answering echo. Cold on Persian hearts struck sudden fear: far other than we deemed the tale that pæan told! Not as for flight this solemn strain issued from Grecian lips, but as of men with hearts of high resolve eager for battle. Then rang shrill and clear a clarion, filling all the bay with sound: and straight with even stroke of dashing oars, that fell responsive to the master's voice, they smote the yielding bosom of the deep; and in brief space stood out before our eyes full plain to see. The right wing led the way in order fair; and following hard astern the whole long fleet streamed on, not silently, but with shouts manifold and plain to hear: 'Sons of the Greeks arise! your country free! 'free home, and wife, and child, and grandsires' tombs, 'and all the seats loved of your fathers' gods!' Nor were we silent: Persian lips gave back challenge for challenge. And now the hour was come: and straightway ship on ship did dash its brazen beak: and first to strike a blow a Grecian ship brake all the forward gear of a Phœnician bark: then in wild war ship fell on ship, or charging drave its prow right on a foe. At first the Persian line held out and brake not: but whenas the host of myriad ships, cramped in the narrow bay,

crashed each on each, entangled in a maze,  
 nor could yield mutual succour,—friend on friend  
 struck with their brazen beaks, and oars  
 were splintered in the rowers' hands; and all  
 the Grecian ships not letting slip the chance  
 rowed round them, and charged: and many a hull  
 keel uppermost went drifting: the wide sea  
 was hidden with the wreckage and men's limbs,  
 and all the jutting headlands and the strands.  
 Then every ship of ours as chance gave way  
 sped off in flight disordered; and our foes  
 like tunny-fishers speared the swimmers' backs  
 with splintered spars and oars: a dolorous cry  
 filled all the reaches of the open sea;  
 until the closing eye of black-browed night  
 stayed that fell work. But the full tale of woes,  
 if I should count them through ten livelong days,  
 I could not reckon; for be sure of this,  
 one day has never seen such hosts of slain.

#### NOTE ON THE TEXT, c. 69 [p. 36, l. 17].

*κρίσις*. This is the reading of R. and most other MSS., but Stein with AB. reads *ἀνὰ κρίσις*, quoting two passages of Plato [176 C, 277 E] to prove the interpretation which he gives of the word,—‘remonstrance’ ‘contradiction’ (*Einrede*, *Widerspruch*). But in both these passages the sense seems rather to be that of ‘questioning’, than of contradiction or debate: and so probably in *Her.* 3. 53, though there is there a variant *ὑπὸ κρίσις*. On the other hand elsewhere in *Her.* (5. 5; 7. 26) *κρίσις* = ‘quarrel’, ‘contention’, not as here, ‘expression of opinion’. And Stein may be right in supporting his meaning of *ἀνὰ κρίσις* by that of *ἀνὰ κρίνεσθαι* in 9. 56. [The two words were sometimes confounded, see Lysias XXII. § 3, where *κρίσις* = *ἀνὰ κρίσις* in the legal sense.]

# ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΟΥΡΑΝΙΑ.

## BOOK VIII.

*The States which contributed ships to the Greek fleet, under the command of the Spartan Eurybiades.*

I. Οἱ δὲ Ἑλλήνων ἐς τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντες ἦσαν οἷδε· Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν νέας παρεχόμενοι ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑπτὰ· ὑπὸ δὲ ἀρετῆς τε καὶ προθυμίας Πλαταιέες, ἄπειροι τῆς ναυτικῆς ἔοντες, συνεπλήρουν τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι τὰς νέας· Κο- 5 ρίνθιοι δὲ τεσσεράκοντα νέας παρείχοντο, Μεγαρέες δὲ εἴκοσι. καὶ Χαλκιδέες ἐπλήρουν εἴκοσι Ἀθηναίων σφι παρεχόντων τὰς νέας, Αἰγινῆται δὲ ὀκτωκαίδεκα, Σικυώνιοι δὲ δωδέκα, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ δέκα, Ἐπιδαύριοι δὲ ὀκτὼ, Ἐρετριέες δὲ ἑπτὰ, Τροι- 10 ζήνιοι δὲ πέντε, Στυρέες δὲ δύο καὶ Κεῖοι δύο τε νέας καὶ πεντηκοντέρους δύο. Λοκροὶ δὲ σφι οἱ Ὀπούντιοι ἐπεβοήθεον πεντηκοντέρους ἔχοντες ἑπτὰ.

II. Ἦσαν μὲν ὧν οὗτοι οἱ στρατευόμενοι ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον, εἴρηται δέ μοι καὶ ὡς τὸ πλῆθος ἕκαστοι τῶν 15 νεῶν παρείχοντο. ἀριθμὸς δὲ τῶν συλληχθεισέων νεῶν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον ἦν, πάρεξ τῶν πεντηκοντέρων, διηκόσiai καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ μία. τὸν δὲ στρατηγὸν τὸν τὸ μέγιστον κράτος ἔχοντα παρείχοντο Σπαρτιῆται Εὐρυβιάδην τὸν Εὐρυκλείδew. οἱ γὰρ 20

σύμμαχοι οὐκ ἔφασαν, ἦν μὴ ὁ Λάκων ἡγεμονεύη, Ἀθηναίοισι ἔψεσθαι ἡγεομένοισι, ἀλλὰ λύσειν τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι στράτευμα.

*The unselfish patriotism of the Athenians.*

III. Ἐγένετο γὰρ κατ' ἀρχὰς λόγος, πρὶν ἢ καὶ  
 5 ἐς Σικελίην πέμπειν ἐπὶ συμμαχίην, ὡς τὸ ναυτικὸν Ἀθηναίοισι χρεὸν εἶη ἐπιτράπειν. ἀντιβάντων δὲ τῶν συμμάχων εἶκον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, μέγα πεποιημένοι περιεῖναι τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ γινόντες, εἰ στασιάσουσι περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίης, ὡς ἀπολλέεται ἡ Ἑλλὰς, ὀρθὰ  
 10 ροεῦντες· στάσις γὰρ ἔμφυλος πολέμου ὁμοφρονέοντος τοσούτῳ κἀκίον ἐστι, ὅσῳ πόλεμος εἰρήνης. ἐπιστάμενοι ὦν αὐτὸ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀντέτεινον, ἀλλ' εἶκον, μέχρι ὅσου κάρτα ἐδέοντο αὐτῶν, ὡς διέδεξαν. ὡς γὰρ διωσάμενοι τὸν Πέρσην περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἡδῆ  
 15 τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐποιεῦντο, πρόφασιν τὴν Πανσανίῳ ὕβριν προῖσχύμενοι ἀπέειλοντο τὴν ἡγεμονίην τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον ἐγένετο·

*The fleet arrives at Artemisium. Seeing the Persian armament at Aphetae the Greeks are minded to retreat southwards, but the people of Euboea induce Themistocles by a bribe to use his influence to keep them there.*

IV. Τότε δὲ οὔτοι οἱ καὶ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον Ἑλλήνων ἀπικόμενοι ὡς εἶδον νέας τε πολλὰς καταχθείσας  
 20 ἐς τὰς Ἀφετὰς καὶ στρατιῆς ἅπαντα πλέα, ἐπεὶ αὐτοῖσι παρὰ δόξαν τὰ πρήγματα τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπέβαινε ἢ ὡς αὐτοὶ κατεδόκεον, καταρρωδήσαντες δρῆσμὸν ἐβουλεύοντο ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου ἔσω ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. γινόντες δέ σφεας οἱ Εὐβοέες ταῦτα

βουλευομένους ἐδέοντο Εὐρυβιάδew προσμεῖναι χρό-  
νον ὀλίγον, ἔστ' ἂν αὐτοὶ τέκνα τε καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας  
ὑπεκθέωνται. ὥς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθον, μεταβάντες τὸν  
Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸν πείθουσι Θεμιστοκλέα ἐπὶ  
μισθῷ τριήκοντα ταλάντοισι, ἐπ' ᾧ τε καταμείναντες 5  
πρὸ τῆς Εὐβοίης ποιήσονται τὴν ναυμαχίην. V. Ὁ  
δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπισχεῖν ὧδε ποιεῖ·  
Εὐρυβιάδῃ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων μεταδιδοῖ πέντε  
τάλαντα ὥς παρ' ἐωυτοῦ δῆθεν διδούς. ὥς δέ οἱ  
οὗτος ἀνεπέπειστο, Ἀδεΐμαντος γὰρ ὁ Ὠκύτου Κο- 10  
ρινθίων στρατηγὸς τῶν λοιπῶν ἤσπαιρε μῦθος, φά-  
μενος ἀποπλώσεσθαί τε ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου καὶ οὐ  
παραμενεῖν, πρὸς δὲ τοῦτον εἶπε ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς  
ἐπομόσας· “Οὐ σύ γε ἡμέας ἀπολείψεις, ἐπεὶ τοι ἐγὼ  
“μέζω δῶρα δώσω, ἢ βασιλεὺς ἂν τοι ὁ Μῆδων πέμ- 15  
“ψει ἀπολιπόντι τοὺς συμμάχους.” Ταῦτά τε ἅμα  
ἠγόρευε καὶ πέμπει ἐπὶ τὴν νέα τὴν Ἀδεϊμάντου  
τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τρία. οὗτοί τε δὴ πάντες δώροισι  
ἀναπεπεισμένοι ἦσαν, καὶ τοῖσι Εὐβοεῦσι ἐκεχάριστο,  
αὐτὸς τε ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐκέρδηνε, ἐλάνθανε δὲ τὰ 20  
λοιπὰ ἔχων, ἀλλ' ἠπιστέατο οἱ μεταλαβόντες τούτων  
τῶν χρημάτων, ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνέων ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ  
τούτῳ τὰ χρήματα.

*The Persians send 200 ships round Euboea to entrap the  
Greek fleet.*

VI. Οὕτω δὴ κατέμεινάν τε ἐν τῇ Εὐβοίῃ καὶ  
ἐναυμάχησαν. ἐγένετο δὲ ὧδε· ἐπεὶ τε δὴ ἐς τὰς 25  
Ἀφετάς περὶ δέϊλην πρώτην γινομένην ἀπῆκατο οἱ  
βάρβαροι, πυθόμενοι μὲν ἔτι καὶ πρότερον περὶ τὸ  
Ἀρτεμίσιον ναυλοχέειν νέας Ἑλληνίδας ὀλίγας, τότε

δὲ αὐτοὶ ἰδόντες, πρόθυμοι ἦσαν ἐπιχειρεῖν, εἴ πως  
 ἔλοιεν αὐτάς. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς ἀντίης προσπλώειν οὐ  
 κώ σφι ἐδόκεε τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, μή πως ἰδόντες οἱ  
 Ἕλληνες προσπλώοντας εἰς φυγὴν ὀρμήσειαν, φεύ-  
 5 γοντάς τε εὐφρόνῃ καταλαμβάιῃ· καὶ ἔμελλον δῆθεν  
 ἐκφεύξεσθαι, ἔδεε δὲ μηδὲ πυρφόρον τῷ ἐκείνων  
 λόγῳ ἐκφυγόντα περιγερέσθαι. VII. Πρὸς ταῦτα  
 ὧν τάδε ἐμχανέοντο· τῶν νεῶν ἀπασέων ἀποκρί-  
 ναιτες διηκοσίας περιέπεμπον ἔξωθεν Σκιάθου, ὥς  
 10 ἂν μὴ ὀφθέωσι ἰπὸ τῶν πολεμίων περιπλώουσai  
 Εὐβοίαν κατὰ τε Καφηρέα καὶ Γεραιστὸν εἰς τὸν  
 Εὐριπον, ἵνα εἰς περιλάβοιεν, οἱ μὲν ταίτῃ ἀπικό-  
 μειοι καὶ φράζαντες αὐτῶν τὴν ὀπίσω φέρουσιν  
 ὁδὸν, σφέεις δὲ ἐπισπόμενοι ἐξ ἐναντίας. ταῦτα βου-  
 15 λευσάμενοι ἀπέπεμπον τῶν νεῶν τὰς ταχθείσας, αὐ-  
 τοὶ οὐκ ἐν νόῳ ἔχοντες ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρης τοῖσι  
 Ἕλλησι ἐπιθήσεσθαι, οὐδὲ πρότερον ἢ τὸ σύνθημά  
 σφι ἔμελλε φανήσεσθαι παρὰ τῶν περιπλώνοντων  
 ὡς ἡκόντων. ταύτας μὲν δὴ περιέπεμπον, τῶν δὲ  
 20 λοιπέων νεῶν ἐν τῇσι Ἀφετῇσι ἐποιεῦντο ἀριθμόν.

*The Persian design is betrayed to the Greeks by the diver  
 Skyllias of Skione.*

VIII. Ἐν δὲ τοῦτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, ἐν τῷ οὗτοι  
 ἀριθμόν ἐποιεῦντο τῶν νεῶν (ἦν γὰρ ἐν τῷ στρατο-  
 πέδῳ τούτῳ Σκυλλίης Σκιωναῖος <sup>diver</sup>δυτής τῶν τότε  
 ἀνθρώπων ἄριστος, ὃς καὶ ἐν τῇ ναυηγίᾳ τῇ κατὰ  
 25 τὸ Πήλιον γενομένη πολλὰ μὲν ἔσωσε τῶν χρημάτων  
 τοῖσι Πέρσησι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς περιεβάλετο),  
 οὗτος ὁ Σκυλλίης ἐν νόῳ μὲν εἶχε ἄρα καὶ πρότερον  
 αὐτομολήσειν εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ οἱ

παρέσχε ὥς τότε. ὅτε μὲν δὴ τρώπῳ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν  
 ἔτι ἀπίκητο ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας, οὐκ ἔχω εἶπαι ἀτρεκέως,  
 θαυμάζω δὲ, εἰ τὰ λεγόμενά ἐστι ἀληθέα. λέγεται  
 γὰρ, ὥς ἐξ Ἀφετέων δις ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν οὐ πρό-  
 τερον ἀνέσχε, πρὶν ἢ ἀπίκητο ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον, 5  
 σταδίους μάλιστα κη τούτους ἐς ὀγδώκοντα διὰ τῆς  
 θαλάσσης διεξελθών. λέγεται μὲν νυν ἄλλα <sup>ψευδέσι</sup>  
 ἴκελα περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου, τὰ δὲ <sup>δουε, σθηε - (Jouie)</sup> μετεξέτερα ἀλη-  
 θέα. περὶ μέντοι τούτου γνώμη μοι ἀποδεδέχθω  
 πλοίῳ μιν ἀπικέσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον. ὥς δὲ 10  
 ἀπίκητο, αὐτίκα ἐσήμνηε τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι τὴν τε  
 ναυηγίην ὥς γένοιτο, καὶ τὰς περιπεμφθείσας τῶν  
 νεῶν περὶ Εὐβοίαν.

*The Greeks resolve to remain at Artemisium during that  
 day, and in the night to go southward to meet the 200  
 Persian ships that were sailing round Euboea.*

IX. Τοῦτο δὲ ἀκούσαντες οἱ Ἕλληνες λόγον  
 σφίσι αὐτοῖσι ἐδίδοσαν. πολλῶν δὲ λεχθέντων ἐνίκα 15  
 τὴν ἡμέρην ἐκείνην αὐτοῦ μέιναντάς τε καὶ αὐλισθέν-  
 τας, μετέπειτεν νύκτα μέσσην παρέντας πορεύεσθαι  
 καὶ ἀπαντᾶν τῇσι περιπλωούσῃσι τῶν νεῶν. μετὰ  
 δὲ τοῦτο, ὥς οὐδεὶς σφι ἐπέπλωε, δείλην ὀψίην γινο-  
 μένην τῆς ἡμέρης φυλάξαντες αὐτοὶ ἐπανεπλῶον ἐπὶ 20  
 τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἀπόπειραν αὐτῶν ποιήσασθαι βου-  
 λόμενοι τῆς τε μάχης καὶ τοῦ διεκπλόου.

*First Day's Fighting. Thirty ships of the Persian fleet  
 are captured, but night-fall finds the battle still undecided.*

X. Ὅρέοντες δὲ σφεας οἳ τε ἄλλοι στρατιῶται  
 οἱ Ξέρξεω καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐπιπλώοντας νηυσὶ  
 ὀλίγῃσι, πάγχυ σφι μανίην ἐπενείκαντες ἀνήγον καὶ 25  
<sup>ἐπιφέρω</sup>



αὐτοὶ τὰς νέας, ἐλπίσαντές σφεας εἰπετέως αἰρήσειν,  
οἰκότα κάρτα ἐλπίσαντες. τὰς μὲν γε τῶν Ἑλλήνων  
ὀρέοντες ὀλίγας νέας, τὰς δὲ ἑωυτῶν πλήθει τε πολλα-  
πλησίας καὶ ἄμεινον πλωούσας, καταφρονήσαντες  
5 ταῦτα ἐκυκλοῦντο αὐτοὺς ἐς μέσον. ὕσοι μὲν νυν  
τῶν Ἰώνων ἦσαν εὖροισι τοῖσι Ἑλλησι, ἀέκοντές τε  
ἰσχυροῦντο, συμφορὴν τε ἐποιοῦντο μεγάλην, ὀρέον-  
τες περιεχομένους αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπιστάμενοι ὅς οὐδεὶς  
αὐτῶν ἀποιοσθήσει· οὕτω ἀσθενέα σφι ἐφαίνετο εἶναι  
10 τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρήγματα. ὅσοισι δὲ καὶ ἡδομέ-  
ροισι ἦν τὸ γινόμενον, ἡμίλλαν ἐποιοῦντο, ὅπως αὐτὸς  
ἕκαστος πρῶτος νῆα Ἀττικὴν ἐλὼν δῶρα παρὰ βασι-  
λέος λάμψεται. Ἀθηναίων γὰρ αὐτοῖσι λόγος ἦν  
πλείστος ἀνὰ τὰ στρατόπεδα. XI. Τοῖσι δὲ Ἑλ-  
15 λησι ὡς ἐσήμηνε, πρῶτα μὲν ἀντίπρωροι τοῖσι βαρβά-  
ροισι γενόμενοι ἐς τὸ μέσον τὰς πρυμνας συνήγαγον,  
δεύτερα δὲ σημήναντος ἔργου εἶχοντο, ἐν ὀλίγῳ περ  
ἀπολαμφθέντες καὶ κατὰ στόμα. ἐνθαῦτα τριήκοντα  
νέας αἰρέουσι τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ τὸν Γέργου τοῦ  
20 Σαλαμινίων βασιλέος ἀδελφεὸν Φιλάονα τὸν Χέρσιος,  
λόγιμον εἶντα ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἄνδρα. πρῶτος δὲ  
Ἑλλήνων νῆα τῶν πολεμίων εἶλε ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος  
Λυκομήδης Λίσχραιος, καὶ τὸ ἀριστήϊον ἔλαβε οὗτος.  
τοὺς δ' ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ ταύτῃ <sup>ἐπὶ αὐτῇ</sup> ετεραλκείως ἀγωνιζο-  
25 μένους νῆξ ἐπελθοῦσα διέλυσε. οἱ μὲν δὲ Ἕλληνες  
ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἀπέπλων, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἐς τὰς  
Ἀφετάς, πολλὸν παρὰ δόξαν ἀγωνισάμενοι. ἐν  
ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ Ἀντίδωρος Λήμνιος μῦνος τῶν  
σὺν βασιλεῖ Ἑλλήνων ἐόντων αὐτομολεῖ ἐς τοὺς  
30 Ἕλληνας, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἔδοσαν  
αὐτῷ χῶρον ἐν Σαλαμῖνι.



*In the night there is a violent storm of rain and thunder,  
which terrifies and distresses the Persian fleet at  
Aphetæ,*

*first in Nels. of 2000  
Korsh. rough.*

XII. Ὡς δὲ εὐφρόνη ἐγεγόνεε, ἦν μὲν τῆς ὥρης μέσον θέρος, ἐγίνετο δὲ ὕδωρ τε ἄπλετον διὰ πάσης τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ σκληραὶ βρονταὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πηλίου· οἱ δὲ νεκροὶ καὶ τὰ ναυήγια ἐξεφορέοντο ἐς τὰς Ἀφετάς, καὶ περί τε τὰς πρῶρας τῶν νεῶν εἰλέοντο καὶ ἐτάρασσον τοὺς ταρσοὺς τῶν κωπέων. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται οἱ ταύτῃ ἀκούοντες ταῦτα ἐς φόβον κατιστέατο, ἐλπίζοντες πάγχυ ἀπολέεσθαι ἐς οἷα κακὰ ἦκον· πρὶν γὰρ ἢ καὶ ἀναπνεῦσαί σφεας ἔκ τε τῆς ναυηγίης καὶ τοῦ χειμῶνος τοῦ γενομένου 10 κατὰ Πήλιον, ὑπέλαβε ναυμαχίῃ καρτερῇ, ἐκ δὲ τῆς ναυμαχίης ὄμβρος τε λάβρος καὶ ρεύματα ἰσχυρὰ ἐς θάλασσαν ὀρμημένα βρονταὶ τε σκληραὶ.

*first in Nels. of 2000  
of natural forces: com. in Homer.*

*and entirely destroys the detachment which was sailing  
round Euboea, driving the ships upon 'The Hollows.'*

XIII. Καὶ τούτοις μὲν τοιαύτῃ νύξ ἐγίνετο, τοῖσι δὲ ταχθείσι αὐτῶν περιπλώειν Εὐβοίαν ἢ αὐτῇ 15 περ ἑοῦσα νύξ πολλὸν ἦν ἔτι ἀγριωτέρῃ, τοσούτῳ ὅσῳ ἐν πελάγει φερομένοις ἐπέπιπτε, καὶ τὸ τέλος σφί ἐγένετο ἄχαρι· ὥς γὰρ δὴ πλώουσι αὐτοῖσι χειμῶν τε καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπεγίνετο ἑοῦσι κατὰ τὰ Κοῖλα τῆς Εὐβοίης, φερόμενοι τῷ πνεύματι καὶ οὐκ εἰδότες 20 τῇ ἐφέροντο, ἐξέπιπτον πρὸς τὰς πέτρας. ἐποιέετό τε πᾶν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅκως ἂν ἐξισωθείη τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ τὸ Περσικὸν μηδὲ πολλῷ πλέον εἶη. Οὗτοι μὲν νυν περὶ τὰ Κοῖλα τῆς Εὐβοίης διεφθείροντο.

**Second Day.** *The Persians at Aphetae after their terrible night attempt no movement. The Greeks are reinforced by 53 Athenian ships, and attack and destroy some Kilikian vessels.*

XIV. Οἱ δὲ ἐν Ἀφετῇσι βάρβαροι, ὥς σφι ἀσμένιοισι ἡμέρη ἐπέλαμψε, ἀτρέμας τε εἶχον τὰς νέας, καὶ σφι ἀπεχρᾶτο κακῶς πρήσσουσι ἡσυχίην ἄγειν ἐν τῷ παρεόντι. τοῖσι δὲ Ἑλλησι ἐπεβοήθεον  
 5 νέες τρεῖς καὶ πεντήκοντα Ἀττικάι. αὐταί τε δὴ σφέας ἐπέρρωσαν ἀπικόμεναι, καὶ ἅμα ἀγγελίῃ ἐλθούσα ὥς τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ περιπλώοντες τὴν Εὐβοίαν πάντες εἶσαν διεφθαρμένοι ὑπὸ τοῦ γενομένου χειμῶνος. φυλάξαντες δὴ τὴν αὐτὴν ὥρην πλώοντες  
 10 ἐπέπεσον ἡμισὶ Κιλίσσησι, ταύτας δὲ διαφθείραντες, ὥς εὐφρόνῃ ἐγένετο, ἀπέπλων ὀπίσω ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον.

**Third Day** (*the day of the fall of Leonidas at Thermopylae*). *The Persians advance with their ships arranged in a crescent, far outnumbering the Greeks. There is severe fighting, and the Greeks suffer heavily, but the losses of the Persians are still greater.*

XV. Τρίτῃ δὲ ἡμέρῃ δεινόν τι ποιησάμενοι οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων νέας οὕτω <sup>δοτ</sup>σφι ὀλίγας  
 15 λυμαίνεσθαι καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ Ξέρξεω δειμαίνοντες οὐκ ἀνέμειναν ἔτι τοὺς Ἕλληνας μάχης ἄρξαι, ἀλλὰ παρακελευσάμενοι κατὰ μέσον ἡμέρης ἀνῆγον τὰς νέας. συνέπιπτε δὲ ὥστε τῇσι αὐτῇσι ἡμέρῃσι τὰς ναυμαχίας γίνεσθαι ταύτας καὶ τὰς πεζομαχίας τὰς  
 20 ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι. ἦν δὲ πᾶς ὁ ἀγὼν τοῖσι κατὰ θάλασσαν περὶ τοῦ Εὐρίπου, ὥσπερ τοῖσι ἀμφὶ

Λεωνίδην τὴν ἐσβολὴν φυλάσσειν. οἱ μὲν δὲ πα-  
ρεκελεύοντο ὅκωδ' μὴ παρήσουσι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τοὺς  
 βαρβάρους, οἱ δ' ὅκως τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν στράτευμα δια-  
 φθείραντες τοῦ πόρου κρατήσουσι. XVI. Ὡς δὲ  
 ταξάμενοι οἱ Ξέρξεω ἐπέπλων, οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀτρέμας 5  
 εἶχον πρὸς τῷ Ἀρτεμισίῳ. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι μνηο-  
 ειδὲς ποιήσαντες τῶν νεῶν ἐκυκλέοντο, ὡς περιλά-  
 βοιεν αὐτούς. ἐνθεῦτεν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπανεπλῶόν τε  
 καὶ συνέμισγον. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ παραπλήσιοι  
ἀλλήλοισι ἐγένοντο. ὁ γὰρ Ξέρξεω στρατὸς ὑπὸ 10  
 μεγάρους τε καὶ πλήθους αὐτὸς ὑπ' ἐωυτοῦ ἔπιπτε,  
 ταρασσομένων τε τῶν νεῶν καὶ περιπιπτουσέων  
 περὶ ἀλλήλας· ὅμως μέντοι ἀντείχε καὶ οὐκ εἶκε·  
 δεινὸν γὰρ χρῆμα ἐποιεῦντο ὑπὸ νεῶν ὀλίγων ἐς  
 φυγὴν τράπεσθαι. πολλὰ μὲν δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων 15  
 νέες διεφθείροντο, πολλοὶ δὲ ἄνδρες, πολλῶ δ' ἔτι  
 πλεῦνες νέες τε τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ ἄνδρες. Οὕτω  
 δὲ ἀγωνιζόμενοι διέστησαν χωρὶς ἐκάτεροι.

*The best in the fight.*

XVII. Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν  
 τῶν Ξέρξεω στρατιωτῶν ἡρίστευσαν, οὐ ἄλλα τε 20  
 ἔργα μεγάλα ἀπεδέξαντο καὶ νέας αὐτοῖσι ἀνδράσι  
 εἶλον Ἑλληνίδας πέντε. τῶν δὲ Ἑλλήνων κατὰ  
 ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην ἡρίστευσαν Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ Ἀθη-  
 ναίων Κλεινίης ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδew, ὃς δαπάνην οἰκῆϊν  
 παρεχόμενος ἐστρατεύετο ἀνδράσι τε διηκοσίοισι καὶ 25  
 οἰκῆϊν νηϊ.

*The Greeks decide to retreat. Themistocles is the leading spirit. They first slaughter as much of the Euboean cattle as they can to prevent the enemy getting them.*

XVIII. Ὡς δὲ διέστησαν ἄσμενοι ἑκάτεροι, ἐς ὄρμον ἠπείγοντο. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ὡς διακριθέντες ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίης ἀπηλλάχθησαν, τῶν μὲν νεκρῶν καὶ τῶν ναυηγίων ἐπεκράτεον, τρηχέως δὲ περιεφθέντες  
 5 καὶ οὐκ ἦκιστα Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν αἰ ἡμίσεαι τῶν νεῶν τετρωμέναι ἦσαν, δρησμὸν δὴ ἐβουλευόντο ἔσω ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. XIX. Νόῳ δὲ λαβὼν ὁ Θερμιστοκλῆς, ὡς εἰ ἀπορραγείῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ βαρβάρου τό τε Ἴωνικὸν φύλον καὶ τὸ Καρικόν, οἷοί τε εἶησαν ἂν τῶν λοιπῶν  
 10 κατύπερθε γενέσθαι, ἐλαυνόντων τῶν Εὐβοέων πρόβαρα ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν, ταύτῃ συλλέξας τοὺς στρατηγούς ἔλεγέ σφι, ὡς δοκέοι ἔχειν τινὰ παλάμην, τῇ ἐλπίζοι τῶν βασιλέος συμμάχων ἀποστήσειν τοὺς ἀρίστους. ταῦτα μὲν νυν ἐς τοσοῦτο παρεγύμνου,  
 15 ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖσι κατήκουσι πρήγμασι τάδε ποιητέα εἶναί σφι ἔλεγε· τῶν τε προβάτων τῶν Εὐβοϊκῶν ὅσα τις ἐθέλοι καταθύειν (κρέσσον γὰρ εἶναι τὴν στρατιὴν ἔχειν ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους) παραίνεέ τε προειπεῖν τοῖσι ἐνυτῶν ἐκίστους πῦρ ἀνακαίειν· κομιδῆς δὲ πέρι τὴν  
 20 ὥρην αὐτῷ μελήσειν ὥστε ἀσινέας ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ταῦτα ἤρεσέ σφι ποιέειν καὶ αὐτίκα πῦρ ἀνακανσάμενοι ἐτράποντο πρὸς τὰ πρόβαρα.

*A neglected Oracle.*

XX. Οἱ γὰρ Εὐβοέες παραχρησάμενοι τὸν Βάκιδος χρησμὸν ὡς οὐδὲν λέγοντα, οὔτε τι ἐξεκομί-  
 25 σαντο οὐδὲν οὔτε προεσάξαντο ὡς παρεσομένου σφι πολέμου, περιπετέα τε ἐποιήσαντο σφίσι αὐτοῖσι τὰ

πρήγματα. Βάκιδι γὰρ ᾧδε ἔχει περὶ τούτων ὁ χρησμός·

Φράζεο, βαρβαρόφωτος ὅταν ζυγὸν εἰς ἄλα βάλλῃ  
βύβλινον, Εὐβοίης ἀπέχειν πολυμηκάδας αἶγας.

τούτοισι δὲ οὐδὲν τοῖσι ἔπεσι χρησαμένοισι ἐν τοῖσι 5  
τότε παρευούσι τε καὶ προσδοκίμοισι κακοῖσι παρῆν  
σφι συμφορῇ χρᾶσθαι πρὸς τὰ μέγιστα.

*In the evening a scout arrives with news of the disaster  
at Thermopylae. The Greek fleet accordingly start on  
their retreat.*

XXI. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἔπρησσαν, παρῆν δὲ ὁ ἐκ  
Τρηχίνος κατάσκοπος. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ  
κατάσκοπος Πολύας, γένος Ἀντικυρεὺς, τῷ προσετέ- 10  
τακτο, καὶ εἶχε πλοῖον κατῆρες ἐτοῖμον, εἰ παλησεῖε  
ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς, σημαίνειν τοῖσι ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι  
ἐούσι· ὥς δ' αὐτως ἦν Ἀβρώνιχος ὁ Λυσικλέος Ἀθη-  
ναῖος καὶ παρὰ Λεωνίδῃ ἐτοῖμος τοῖσι ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ  
ἐούσι ἀγγέλλειν τριηκοντέρῳ, ἦν τι καταλαμβάνῃ 15  
νεώτερον τὸν πεζόν. οὗτος ὦν ὁ Ἀβρώνιχος ἀπικό-  
μενός σφι ἐσήμαινε τὰ γεγονότα περὶ Λεωνίδην καὶ  
τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ. οἱ δὲ ὡς ἐπύθοντο ταῦτα, οὐκέτι  
ἐς ἀναβολὰς ἐποιεύντο τὴν ἀποχώρησιν, ἐκομίζοντο  
δὲ ὡς ἕκαστοι ἐτάχθησαν, Κορίνθιοι πρῶτοι, ὕστατοι 20  
δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι.

*The plan of Themistocles for detaching the Ionian allies  
from Xerxes.*

XXII. Ἀθηναίων δὲ νέας τὰς ἄριστα πλωούσας  
ἐπιλεξάμενος Θεμιστοκλέης ἐπορεύετο περὶ τὰ πότι-  
μα ὕδατα, ἐντάμνων ἐν τοῖσι λίθοις γράμματα, τὰ

- Ἴωνες ἐπελθόντες τῇ ὑστεραίῃ ἡμέρῃ ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐπελέξαντο. τὰ δὲ γράμματα τάδε ἔλεγε·
- “Ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, οὐ ποιεῖτε δίκαια ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας
- “στρατευόμενοι καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καταδουλούμενοι.
- 5 “ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν πρὸς ἡμέων γίνεσθε· εἰ δὲ ὑμῖν
- “ἵστί τοῦτο μὴ δυνατὸν ποιῆσαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἔτι καὶ νῦν
- “ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἡμῖν ἔξεσθε καὶ αὐτοὶ, καὶ τῶν Καρῶν
- “δέεσθε τὰ αὐτὰ ὑμῖν ποιεῖν· εἰ δὲ μηδέτερον τούτων
- “οἶόν τε γίνεσθαι, ἀλλ’ ὑπ’ ἀναγκαίης μέζονος κατέ-
- 10 “ζευχθε ἢ ὥστε ἀπίστασθαι, ὑμεῖς γε ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ,
- “ἐπεὶν συμμίσγωμεν, ἐθελοκακέετε, μεμνημένοι ὅτι
- “ἀπ’ ἡμέων γεγόνατε καὶ ὅτι ἀρχῆθεν ἢ ἔχθρη πρὸς
- “τὸν βάρβαρον ἀπ’ ὑμέων ἡμῖν γέγονε.” Θεμιστοκλῆς
- δὲ ταῦτα ἔγραψε, δοκέειν ἐμοὶ, ἐπ’ ἀμφότερα νοέων,
- 15 ἵνα ἢ λαθόντα τὰ γράμματα βασιλέα Ἴωνας ποιήσῃ
- μεταβαλεῖν καὶ γενέσθαι πρὸς ἑωυτῶν, ἢ ἐπεὶ τε ἀνε-
- νιχθῇ καὶ διαβληθῇ πρὸς Ξέρξεα, ἀπίστους ποιήσῃ
- τοὺς Ἴωνας καὶ τῶν ναυμαχιέων αὐτοὺς ἀπόσχη.

**Fourth Day.** Next morning the Persians are informed of the retreat of the Greeks, and follow them as far as Histiaea, starting at noon.

- XXIII. Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν ταῦτα ἐνέγραψε, τοῖσι
- 20 δὲ βαρβάροισι ἀντίκα μετὰ ταῦτα πλοῖῳ ἦλθε ἀνὴρ
- Ἰστιαιεὺς ἀγγέλλων τὸν δρησμὸν τὸν ἀπ’ Ἀρτεμίσίου τῶν Ἑλλήνων. οἱ δ’ ὑπ’ ἀπιστίας τὸν μὲν ἀγγέλλοντα εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ, νέας δὲ ταχέας ἀπέ-
- στείλαν προκατοψομένας. ἀπαγγειλάντων δὲ τούτων
- 25 τὰ ἦν, οὕτω δὴ ἅμα ἡλίῳ σκιδναμένῳ<sup>pass.</sup> πᾶσα ἡ στρατιὴ
- ἔπλωε ἀλῆς ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον. ἐπισχόντες δὲ ἐν
- τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ μέχρι μέσου ἡμέρης, τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου



ἐπλων ἐς Ἰστιαίην. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἔσχον τῶν Ἰστιαίων, καὶ τῆς Ἑλλοπίης μοίρης, γῆς δὲ τῆς Ἰστιαιήτιδος τὰς παραθαλασσίας κώμας πάσας ἐπέδραμον.

*At Histiaea the men of the Persian fleet are invited by Xerxes to cross to the mainland to view the slaughtered Greeks at Thermopylae. Xerxes contrives to conceal the amount of his own loss.*

XXIV. Ἐνθαῦτα δὲ τούτων ἑόντων Ξέρξης ἔτοι- 5  
μασάμενος τὰ περὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἔπεμπε ἐς τὸν ναυ-  
τικὸν στρατὸν κήρυκα· προετοιμάσατο δὲ τάδε· ὅσοι  
τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ ἦσαν νεκροὶ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι  
(ἦσαν δὲ καὶ δύο μυριάδες), ὑπολιπόμενος τούτων ὡς  
χιλίους, τοὺς λοιποὺς τάφρους ὀρυζάμενος ἔθαψε, 10  
φυλλάδα τε ἐπιβαλὼν καὶ γῆν ἐπαμνησάμενος, ἵνα  
μὴ ὀφθείησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ. ὡς δὲ  
διέβη ἐς τὴν Ἰστιαίην ὁ κήρυξ, σύλλογον ποιησά-  
μενος παντὸς τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔλεγε τάδε· “Ἄνδρες  
“σύμμαχοι, βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης τῷ βουλευμένῳ ὑμέων 15  
“παρατιδοῖ ἐκλιπόντα τὴν τάξιν καὶ ἐλθόντα θηγή-  
“σασθαι, ὅπως μάχεται πρὸς τοὺς ἀνοήτους τῶν  
“ἀνθρώπων, οἳ ἠλπισαν τὴν βασιλέως δύναμιν ὑπερ-  
“βαλέεσθαι.” XXV. Ταῦτα ἐπαγγειλαμένον, μετὰ  
ταῦτα οὐδὲν ἐγένετο πλοίων σπανιώτερον. οὕτω 20  
πολλοὶ ἠθέλουν θηήσασθαι. διαπεραιωθέντες δὲ ἐθη-  
εύντο διεξιόντες τοὺς νεκρούς· πάντες δὲ ἠπιστέατο <sup>ε. 126</sup>  
τοὺς κειμένους εἶναι πάντας Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ  
Θεσπιέας, ὀρέοντες καὶ τοὺς εἰλωτας. οὐ μὲν οὐδ’  
ἐλάνθανε τοὺς διαβεβηκότας Ξέρξης ταῦτα πρήξας 25  
περὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ

γελοῖον ἦν· τῶν μὲν χίλιοι ἐφαίνοντο νεκροὶ κείμενοι, οἱ δὲ πάντες ἐκέατο ἄλλες συγκεκομισμένοι ἐς τὸν αὐτὸ χωρίον, τέσσερες χιλιάδες. ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην πρὸς θῆν ἐτράποντο, τῇ δ' ὑστεραίῃ οἱ μὲν ἀπέπλωον  
 5 ἐς Ἰσθμιαίην ἐπὶ τὰς νέας, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Ξέρξην ἐς ὁδὸν ὠρμέατο.

*The Olympic Games [July, B.C. 480].*

XXVI. Ἦκον δὲ σφι αὐτόμολοι ἄνδρες ἀπ' Ἀρκადίης ὀλίγοι τινὲς, βίου τε δεόμενοι καὶ ἐνεργοὶ βουλόμενοι εἶναι. ἄγοντες δὲ τούτους ἐς ὕψιν τὴν  
 10 βασιλέος ἐπυθάνοντο οἱ Πέρσαι περὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὰ ποιοῖεν· εἷς δέ τις πρὸ πάντων ἦν ὁ εἰρωτέων αὐτοὺς ταῦτα. οἱ δὲ σφι ἔλεγον, ὡς Ὀλύμπια ἄγοιεν καὶ θεωροῖεν ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν καὶ ἵππικόν. ὁ δὲ ἐπείρετο, ὅ τι τὸ ἄεθλον εἴη σφι κείμενον, περὶ  
 15 ὅτεν ἀγωνίζονται· οἱ δ' εἶπον τῆς ἐλαίης τὸν διδόμενον στέφανον. ἐνθαῦτα εἶπας γνώμην γενναιοτάτην Τιγράνης ὁ Ἀρταβάνου δειλίην ὥφλε πρὸς βασιλέος. πυθθανόμενος γὰρ τὸ ἄεθλον ἔδν στέφανον, ἀλλ' οὐ χρήματα, οὔτε ἡνέσχετο σιγῶν εἰπέ τε  
 20 ἐς πάντας τάδε· “Παπαὶ, Μαρδόνιε, κοίους ἐπ' ἄνδρας ἡγαγες μαχεσομένους ἡμέας, οἳ οὐ περὶ χρημάτων “τὸν ἀγῶνα ποιεῦνται, ἀλλὰ περὶ ἀρετῆς.” *ἔπειτα*

*The quarrels of the Phocians and Thessalians. A Thessalian invasion repelled.*

XXVII. Τούτῳ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα εἶρητο, ἐν δὲ τῷ διὰ μέσου χρόνῳ, ἐπεὶ τε τὸ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι τρῶμα  
 25 ἐγεγόνεε, αὐτίκα Θεσσαλοὶ πέμπουσι κήρυκα ἐς Φωκέας, ἅτε σφι ἐνέχοντες αἰεὶ χόλον, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ



ὑστάτου τρώματος καὶ τὸ κάρτα. ἐσβαλόντες γὰρ  
 πανστρατιῇ αὐτοί τε οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι  
 αὐτῶν ἐς τοὺς Φωκέας οὐ πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι πρότερον  
 ταύτης τῆς βασιλέως στρατηλασίης ἐσώθησαν ὑπὸ  
 τῶν Φωκέων καὶ περιέφθησαν τρηχέως. ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ 5  
 κατειλήθησαν ἐς τὸν Παρνησὸν οἱ Φωκέες ἔχοντες  
 μάντιν Τελλίην τὸν Ἡλεῖον, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Τελλίης  
 οὗτος σοφίζεται αὐτοῖσι τοιόνδε· γυνώσας ἄνδρας  
 ἐξακοσίους τῶν Φωκέων τοὺς ἀρίστους, αὐτοὺς τε  
 τούτους καὶ τὰ ὄπλα αὐτῶν, νυκτὸς ἐπεθήκατο τοῖσι 10  
 Θεσσαλοῖσι, προεῖπας αὐτοῖσι, τὸν ἂν μὴ λευκανθί-  
 ζοντα ἴδωνται, τοῦτον κτείνειν. τούτους ὦν αἱ τε  
 φυλακαὶ τῶν Θεσσαλῶν πρῶται ἰδοῦσαι ἐφοβήθη-  
 σαν, δόξασαι ἄλλο τι εἶναι τέρας, καὶ μετὰ τὰς  
 φυλακὰς αὐτὴ ἡ στρατιὴ οὕτω ὥστε τετρακισχιλίων 15  
 κρατῆσαι νεκρῶν καὶ ἀσπίδων Φωκέας, τῶν τὰς μὲν  
 ἡμισέας ἐς Ἄβας ἀνέθεσαν, τὰς δὲ ἐς Δελφούς· ἡ δὲ  
 δεκάτῃ ἐγένετο τῶν χρημάτων ἐκ ταύτης τῆς μάχης  
 οἱ μεγάλοι ἀνδριάντες οἱ περὶ τὸν τρίποδα συνεστε-  
ῶτες ἔμπροσθε τοῦ νηοῦ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, καὶ ἕτεροι 20  
 τοιοῦτοι ἐν Ἄβησι ἀνακέαται. XXVIII. Ταῦτα  
 μὲν νυν τὸν πεζὸν ἐργάσαντο τῶν Θεσσαλῶν οἱ  
 Φωκέες, πολιορκέοντας ἐωυτοὺς, ἐσβαλοῦσαν δὲ ἐς  
 τὴν χώραν τὴν ἵππον αὐτῶν ἐλυμήναντο ἀνηκέστως.  
 ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἐσβολῇ, ἣ ἐστὶ κατὰ Ἰάμπολιν, ἐν ταύτῃ 25  
 τάφρον μεγάλην ὀρύξαντες ἀμφορέας κεινοὺς ἐς αὐ-  
 τὴν κατέθηκαν, χοῦν δὲ ἐπιφορήσαντες καὶ ὁμοιώ-  
 σαντες τῷ ἄλλῳ χώρῳ ἐδέκοντο τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς  
 ἐσβάλλοντας. οἱ δὲ, ὡς ἀναρπασόμενοι τοὺς Φωκέας,  
 φερόμενοι ἐσέπεσον ἐς τοὺς ἀμφορέας. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ 30  
 ἵπποι τὰ σκέλεα διεφθάρησαν.

*The Thessalians offer for a large indemnity to avert a Persian invasion from Phocis.*

XXIX. Τούτων δὴ σφι ἀμφοτέρων ἔχοντες ἔγκοτον οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ πέμψαντες κήρυκα ἡγόρευον τάδε· “ὦ Φωκέες, ἡδὴ τι μᾶλλον γνωσίμαχέετε μὴ “εἶναι ὁμοῖοι ἡμῖν. πρόσθε τε γὰρ ἐν τοῖσι” Ἑλλησι,  
 5 “ὅσον χρόνον ἐκεῖνα ἡμῖν ἦνδανε, πλέον αἰεὶ κοτε “ὑμῶν ἐφερόμεθα, νῦν τε παρὰ τῷ βαρβάρῳ τοσοῦτο “θυγάμεθα, ὥστε ἐπ’ ἡμῖν ἐστι τῆς γῆς τε ἐστερηῆσθαι “καὶ πρὸς ἡνέραποδίσθαι ὑμέας· ἡμεῖς μέντοι τὸ πᾶν “ἔχοντες οὐ μνησικακέομεν, ἀλλ’ ἡμῖν γενέσθω αὐτ’  
 10 “αὐτῶν πεντήκοντα τάλαντα ἀργυρίου, καὶ ὑμῖν ὑπο- “δεκόμεθα τὰ ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν ἀποτρέψειν.”

*The Phocians refuse.*

XXX. Ταῦτά σφι ἐπηγγέλλοντο οἱ Θεσσαλοί. οἱ γὰρ Φωκέες μῦνοι τῶν ταύτῃ ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἐμήδιζον, κατ’ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν, ὥς ἐγὼ συμβαλλό-  
 15 μενος εἰρίσκω, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἔχθος τὸ Θεσσαλῶν· εἰ δὲ Θεσσαλοὶ τὰ Ἑλλήνων αὖξον, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, ἐμήδιζον ἂν οἱ Φωκέες. ταῦτα ἐπαγγελλομένων Θεσσαλῶν οὔτε δώσειν ἔφασαν χρήματα παρεχεῖν  
 20 τί σφι Θεσσαλοῖσι ὁμοίως μηδίζειν, εἰ ἄλλως βου- λοίατο· ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἔσεσθαι ἐκόντες εἶναι προδόται τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

*The Thessalians therefore guide the Persians into Phocis.*

*The inhabitants retreat, some to Parnassus, others to the country of the Ozolian Locrians. The Persians lay waste Locris with fire and sword.*

XXXI. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀνηνείχθησαν οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι, οὕτω δὴ οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ κεχολωμένοι τοῖσι Φωκεῦσι

ἐγένοντο ἡγεμόνες τῷ βαρβάρῳ τῆς ὁδοῦ. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς Τρηχινίης ἐς τὴν Δωρίδα ἐσέβαλον. τῆς γὰρ Δωρίδος χώρας ποδεῶν στεινὸς ταύτῃ κατατείνει, ὡς τριήκοντα σταδίων μάλιστα κη εὖρος, κείμενος μεταξὺ τῆς τε Μηλίδος καὶ τῆς Φωκίδος χώρας, ἥ περ 5 ἦν τὸ παλαιὸν Δρυοπίς· ἡ δὲ χώρα αὕτη ἐστὶ μητρόπολις Δωριέων τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ. ταύτην ὦν τὴν Δωρίδα γῆν οὐκ ἐσίναντο ἐσβαλόντες οἱ βάρβαροι· ἐμῆδιζόν τε γὰρ καὶ οὐκ ἐδόκεε Θεσσαλοῖσι.

XXXII. Ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Δωρίδος ἐς τὴν Φωκίδα 10 ἐσέβαλον, αὐτοὺς μὲν τοὺς Φωκέας οὐκ αἰρέουσι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν Φωκέων ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τοῦ Παρνησοῦ ἀνέβησαν (ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἐπιτηδὴ δέξασθαι ὄμιλον τοῦ Παρνησοῦ ἢ κορυφῇ), κατὰ Νέωνα πόλιν <sup>καί κειμένη</sup> ἐπ' ἐωυτῆς, Τιθορέα οὖνομα αὐτῇ, ἐς τὴν δὴ <sup>ἀνηνεί-</sup> 15 καντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀνέβησαν), οἱ δὲ πλεῖνες αὐτῶν ἐς τοὺς Ὀζόλας Λοκροὺς ἐξεκομίσαντο, ἐς Ἀμφισσαν πόλιν τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Κρισαίου πεδίου οἰκομένην. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τὴν χώραν πᾶσαν ἐπέδραμον τὴν Φωκίδα· Θεσσαλοὶ γὰρ οὕτω ἦγον τὸν στρατόν· ὁκόσα δὲ 20 ἐπέσχον, πάντα ἐπέφλεγον καὶ ἔκειρον, καὶ ἐς τὰς πόλεις ἐνιέντες πῦρ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἱρά. XXXIII. Πορρευόμενοι γὰρ ταύτῃ παρὰ τὸν Κηφισὸν ποταμὸν ἐδητῶν πάντα, καὶ κατὰ μὲν ἔκαυσαν Δρυμὸν πόλιν, κατὰ δὲ Χαράδρην καὶ Ἐρωχον καὶ Τεθρώνιον καὶ 25 Ἀμφίκαιαν καὶ Νέωνα καὶ Πεδιέας καὶ Τριτέας καὶ Ἐλάτειαν καὶ Ὑάμπολιν καὶ Παραποταμίους καὶ Ἄβας, ἔνθα ἦν ἱρὸν Ἀπόλλωνος πλούσιον, θησαυροῖσί τε καὶ ἀναθήμασι πολλοῖσι κατεσκευασμένον· ἦν δὲ καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ χρηστήριον αὐτόθι 30 καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἱρὸν συλήσαντες ἐνέπρησαν. καί τινας

διώκοντες εἶλον τῶν Φωκέων πρὸς τοῖσι οὖρεσι, καὶ γυναικὰς τινὰς διέφθειραν.

*The Persian army arrives at Panopeis on the frontier of Boeotia. There it divided into two columns; the stronger of the two with Xerxes himself advanced into Boeotia; the other took guides and wound round Parnassus with the view of attacking the temple of Delphi, wasting the country as they went.*

XXXIV. Παραποταμίους δὲ παραμβέβηκεν οἱ βάρβαροι ἀπὶ Πανοπέας. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἤδη  
 5 διακρινομένη ἡ στρατιὴ αὐτῶν ἐσχίζετο. τὸ μὲν πλείστον καὶ δυνατώτατον τοῦ στρατοῦ ἅμα αὐτῷ Ξέρξῃ πορευόμενον ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἐσέβαλε ἐς Βοιωτοὺς, ἐς γῆν τὴν Ὀρχομενίων. Βοιωτῶν δὲ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος ἐμῆδιζε, τὰς δὲ πόλεις αὐτῶν ἄνδρες Μακεδόνες διατε-  
 10 ταγμένοι ἔσωζον, ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀποπεμφθέντες. ἔσωζον δὲ τῇδε, βουλόμενοι δῆλον ποιεῖν Ξέρξῃ, ὅτι τὰ Μήδων Βοιωτοὶ φρονέοιεν. Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ τῶν βαρβάρων ταύτῃ ἐτράποντο. XXXV. ἄλλοι δὲ αὐτῶν ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες ὥρμέατο ἐπὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν  
 15 Δελφοῖσι, ἐν δεξιῇ τὸν Παριησὸν ἀπέργοντες. ὅσα δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ἐπέσχον τῆς Φωκίδος, πάντα ἐσινάμωρεον· καὶ γὰρ τῶν Πανοπέων τὴν πόλιν ἐνέπρησαν καὶ Δαυλίων καὶ Αἰολιδέων. ἐπορεύοντο δὲ ταύτῃ ἀποσχισθέντες τῆς ἄλλης στρατιῆς τῶνδε εἵνεκεν,  
 20 ὅπως συλήσαντες τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι βασιλεῖ Ξέρξῃ ἀποδέξαιεν τὰ χρήματα. πάντα δ' ἠπίστατο τὰ ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ ὅσα λόγου ἦν ἄξια Ξέρξης, ὥς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ἄμεινον ἢ τὰ ἐν τοῖσι οἰκίοισι ἔλιπε, πολλῶν αἰεὶ λεγόντων, καὶ μάλιστα τὰ Κροίσου τοῦ  
 25 Ἀλυάττεω ἀναθήματα.

*The God will protect his own. The Delphians send their women and children across to Achaia.*

XXXVI. Οἱ δὲ Δελφοὶ πυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα ἐς πᾶσαν ἄρρωδίην ἀπύκατο, ἐν δείματι δὲ μεγάλῳ κατεστεῶτες ἐμαντεύοντο περὶ τῶν ἱρῶν χρημάτων, εἴτε σφέα κατὰ γῆς κατορύξωσι εἴτε ἐκκομίσωσι ἐς ἄλλην χώραν. ὁ δὲ θεὸς σφεας οὐκ ἔα κινέειν, φὰς 5 αὐτὸς ἱκανὸς εἶναι τῶν ἐωυτοῦ προκατῆσθαι. Δελφοὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες σφέων αὐτῶν <sup>απὸ τοῦ γὰρ ὅτι</sup> περὶ ἐφρόντιζον, τέκνα μὲν νυν καὶ γυναῖκας πέρην ἐς τὴν Ἀχαιίην διέπεμψαν, αὐτῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν πλείστοι ἀνέβησαν ἐς τοῦ Παρνησοῦ τὰς κορυφὰς καὶ ἐς τὸ Κωρύκιον 10 ἄντρον ἀνηνείκαντο, οἱ δὲ ἐς Ἀμφισσαν τὴν Λοκρίδα ὑπεξῆλθον. πάντες δὲ ὦν οἱ Δελφοὶ ἐξέλιπον τὴν πόλιν πλὴν ἐξήκοντα ἀνδρῶν καὶ τοῦ προφήτεω. *Prudent*

*The miraculous preservation of Delphi. The barbarians retreat towards Boeotia.*

XXXVII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγχοῦ τε ἦσαν οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπιόντες καὶ ἀπώρεον τὸ ἱρὸν, ἐν τούτῳ ὁ προφήτης, 15 τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Ἀκήρατος, ὁρᾷ πρὸ τοῦ νηοῦ ὄπλα προκείμενα ἔσωθεν ἐκ τοῦ μεγάρου ἐξενηνευγμένα ἱρὰ, τῶν οὐκ ὅσιον ἦν ἕπτεσθαι ἀνθρώπων οὐδενί. ὁ μὲν δὴ <sup>ἦν</sup> ἦε Δελφῶν τοῖσι παρεούσι σημανέων τὸ τέρας, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἐπειδὴ ἐγίνοντο ἐπειγόμενοι 20 κατὰ τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Προνηΐης Ἀθηναίης, ἐπιγίνεται σφι τέρεα ἔτι μέζονα τοῦ πρὶν γενομένου τέρεος. θῶυμα μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο κάρτα ἐστὶ, ὅπλα ἀρήϊα αὐτόματα φανῆναι ἔξω προκείμενα τοῦ νηοῦ· τὰ δὲ δὴ ἐπὶ τούτῳ δευτέρα ἐπιγενόμενα καὶ διὰ πάντων 25 φασμάτων ἄξια θωυμάσαι μάλιστα. ἐπεὶ γὰρ δὴ

ἦσαν ἐπιόντες οἱ βάρβαροι κατὰ τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Προ-  
 νηΐης Ἀθηναίης, ἐν τούτῳ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κε-  
 ραινοὶ αὐτοῖσι ἐνέπιπτον, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Παρνησοῦ  
 ἀπορραγεῖσαι δύο κορυφαὶ ἐφέροντο πολλῷ πατάγῳ  
 5 ἐς αὐτοὺς καὶ κατέλαβον συχνούς σφεων, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ  
 ἱροῦ τῆς Προνηΐης βοή τι καὶ ἀλαλαγμὸς ἐγίνετο.  
 XXXVIII. Συμμιγέντων δὲ τούτων πάντων φόβος  
 τοῖσι βαρβάροισι ἐνεπεπτώκεε. μαθόντες δὲ οἱ  
 Δελφοὶ φεύγοντάς σφεας, ἐπικαταβάντες ἀπέκτειναν  
 10 πλῆθός τι αὐτῶν. οἱ δὲ περιεόντες ἰθὺ Βοιωτῶν  
 ἔφευγον. ἔλεγον δὲ οἱ ἀπονοστήσαντες οὗτοι τῶν  
 βαρβάρων, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ὡς πρὸς τούτοις  
 καὶ ἄλλα ὥρεον θεῖα· δύο γὰρ ὀπλίτας μέζοντας ἢ  
 κατὰ ἀνθρώπων φύσιν ἔχοντας ἔπεσθαί σφι κτεί-  
 15 νοντας καὶ διώκοντας. XXXIX. Τούτους δὲ τοὺς  
 δύο Δελφοὶ λέγουσι εἶναι ἐπιχωρίους ἥρωας, Φύλα-  
 κόν τε καὶ Αὐτόνοον, τῶν τὰ τεμένεά ἐστι περὶ τὸ  
 ἱρὸν, Φυλάκου μὲν παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν ὁδὸν κατύπερθε  
 τοῦ ἱροῦ τῆς Προνηΐης, Αὐτονόου δὲ πέλας τῆς  
 20 Κασταλῆς ὑπὸ τῇ Ῥαμπεῖῳ κορυφῇ. οἱ δὲ πεσόντες  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ Παρνησοῦ λίθοι ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἡμέας ἦσαν σῶοι,  
 ἐν τῷ τεμένει τῆς Προνηΐης Ἀθηναίης κείμενοι, ἐς τὸ  
 ἐνέσκηψαν διὰ τῶν βαρβάρων φερόμενοι. Τούτων  
 μὲν νυν τῶν ἀνδρῶν αὕτη ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱροῦ ἀπαλλαγή  
 25 γίνεται.

*Meanwhile the Greek fleet arrive at Salamis, where on the  
 entreaty of the Athenians they anchor.*

XL. Ὁ δὲ Ἑλλήνων ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 Ἀρτεμισίου Ἀθηναίων δεηθέντων ἐς Σαλαμίνα κα-  
 τίσχει τὰς νέας. τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκεν προσεδεήθησαν



αὐτῶν <sup>αἰσιν. 83</sup>σχεῖν πρὸς Σαλαμίνα Ἀθηναῖοι, ἵνα αὐτοὶ παῖδάς τε καὶ γυναῖκας ὑπεξαγάγωνται ἐκ τῆς Ἀτ-  
 τικῆς, πρὸς δὲ καὶ βουλευσονται τὸ ποιητέον αὐτοῖσι  
 ἔσται. ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῖσι κατήκουσι πρήγμασι βουλὴν  
 ἔμελλον ποιήσεσθαι ὡς ἐψευσμένοι γνώμης. δοκέ- 5  
 οντες γὰρ εὐρήσειν Πελοποννησίους πανδημεὶ ἐν τῇ  
 Βοιωτίῃ ὑποκατημένους τὸν βάρβαρον τῶν μὲν εὖρον  
 οὐδὲν ἔδον, οἱ δὲ ἐπυνθάνοντο τὸν Ἰσθμὸν αὐτοὺς  
 τειχέοντας, τὴν Πελοπόννησον περὶ πλείστου τε  
 ποιευμένους περιεῖναι καὶ ταύτην ἔχοντας ἐν φυλακῇ, 10  
 τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἀπιέναι. ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι οὕτω δὴ  
 προσεδεήθησάν σφεων σχεῖν πρὸς τὴν Σαλαμίνα.

*The Athenian ships are employed in conveying their families to Troezen, Aegina and Salamis. The disappearance of the sacred serpent.*

XLI. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι κατέσχον ἐς τὴν Σαλα-  
 μίνα, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐς τὴν ἑωυτῶν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν  
 ἀπιξιν κήρυγμα ἐποίησαντο, Ἀθηναίων τῇ τις δύνα- 15  
 ται σώζειν τὰ τέκνα τε καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας. ἐνθαῦτα  
 οἱ μὲν πλείστοι ἐς Τροιζῆνα ἀπέστειλαν, οἱ δὲ ἐς  
 Αἴγιναν, οἱ δὲ ἐς Σαλαμίνα. ἔσπευσαν δὲ ταῦτα  
 ὑπεκθέσθαι τῷ χρηστηρίῳ τε βουλόμενοι ὑπηρετεῖν  
 καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦδε εἵνεκεν οὐκ ἤκιστα· λέγουσι Ἀθη- 20  
 ναῖοι ὄφιν μέγαν φύλακον τῆς ἀκροπόλιος ἐνδαι-  
 τᾶσθαι ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ. λέγουσὶ τε ταῦτα καὶ δὴ καὶ ὡς  
 εἰσὶν ἐπιμήνια ἐπιτελέουσιν προτιθέντες· τὰ δ' ἐπι-  
 μήνια μελιτόεσσά ἐστι. αὕτη δ' ἡ μελιτόεσσα ἐν τῷ  
 πρόσθε αἰεὶ χρόνῳ ἀναισιμουμένη τότε ἦν ἄφαντος. 25  
 σημενᾶσης δὲ ταῦτα τῆς ἱρείης μᾶλλον τι οἱ Ἀθη-  
 ναῖοι καὶ προθυμότερον ἐξέλιπον τὴν πόλιν ὡς καὶ

= ἀναισίουσα. Σαλαμίνα

οὐκ ἐν τῇ

τῆς θεοῦ ἀπολελοιπυίης τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. ὥς δέ σφι πάντα ὑπεξέκεετο, ἔπλων ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

*The Greek fleet at Salamis reinforced by contingents which had mustered at Troezen.*

XLII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἀπ' Ἀρτεμισίου ἐς Σαλαμίνα κατέσχον τὰς νέας, συνέρρει καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς πυν-  
 5 θανόμενος ὁ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ἐκ Τροιζήνης· ἐς γὰρ Πώγωνα τὸν Τροιζηνίων λιμένα προείρητο συλλέγεσθαι. συνελέχθησάν τε δὴ πολλῶ πλεῦνες νέες ἢ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἐναυμάχεον, καὶ ἀπὸ  
 10 πολίων πλεύνων. ναύαρχος μὲν νυν ἐπὶν ὧτος ὅς περ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ, Εὐρυβιάδης Εὐρυκλείδew ἀνὴρ Σπαρτιήτης, οὐ μέντοι γένεός γε τοῦ βασιλῆως ἑών. νέας δὲ πολλῶ πλείστας τε καὶ ἄριστα πλωούσας παρείχοντο Ἀθηναῖοι.

*The numbers of the ships contributed by each State.*

XLIII. Ἐστρατεύοντο δὲ οἷδε· ἐκ μὲν Πελο-  
 15 πονήσου Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἑκκαίδεκα νέας παρεχόμενοι, Κορίνθιοι δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ πλήρωμα παρεχόμενοι τὸ καὶ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ, Σικυώνιοι δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα παρείχοντο νέας, Ἐπιδαύριοι δὲ δέκα, Τροιζήνιοι δὲ πέντε, Ἑρμιονέες δὲ τρεῖς, ἔοντες οὗτοι πλὴν Ἑρμιονέων  
 20 Δωρικόν τε καὶ Μακεδνὸν ἔθνος, ἐξ Ἑρинеοῦ τε καὶ Πίνδου καὶ τῆς Δρυοπίδος ὕστατα ὀρμηθέντες. οἱ δὲ Ἑρμιονέες εἰσὶ Δρύοπες, ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέος τε καὶ Μηλίων ἐκ τῆς νῦν Δωρίδος καλεομένης χώρας ἐξαναστάντες.



[Why the Plataeans were absent. The names borne by the Athenians at different epochs.]

XLIV. Οὗτοι μὲν νυν Πελοποννησίων ἐστρατεύοντο, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἔξω ἡπείρου, Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν πρὸς πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους παρεχόμενοι <sup>πλαταῖες</sup> νέας ὀγδῶκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν, μούνοι· ἐν Σαλαμῖνι γὰρ οὐ συνεναυμάχησαν Πλαταιέες Ἀθηναίοισι διὰ τοιόνδε τι πρήγμα· ἀπαλ- 5 λασσομένων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου, ὡς ἐγίνοντο κατὰ Χαλκίδα, οἱ Πλαταιέες ἀποβάντες ἐς τὴν περαιήν τῆς Βοιωτῆς χώρας πρὸς ἐκκομιδὴν ἐτράποντο τῶν οἰκετέων. οὗτοι μὲν νυν τούτους σῶζοντες ἐλείφθησαν, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν Πελασ- 10 γῶν ἐχόντων τὴν νῦν Ἑλλάδα καλεομένην ἦσαν Πελασγοὶ, οὐνομαζόμενοι Κραναοὶ, ἐπὶ δὲ Κέκροπος βασιλέος ἐπεκλήθησαν Κεκροπίδαι, ἐκδεξαμένου δὲ Ἑρεχθέος τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἀθηναῖοι μετουνομάσθησαν, Ἴωνος δὲ τοῦ Ξούθου στρατάρχεω γενομένου Ἀθη- 15 ναίοισι ἐκλήθησαν ἀπὸ τούτου Ἴωνες.

*The contributions of the various States continued.*

XLV. Μεγαρέες δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ πλήρωμα παρείχοντο καὶ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ, Ἀμπρακιῶται δὲ ἑπτὰ νέας ἔχοντες ἐπεβώθησαν, Λευκάδιοι δὲ τρεῖς, ἔθνος εὐόντες οὗτοι Δωρικὸν ἀπὸ Κορίνθου. XLVI. Νησι- 20 ωτέων δὲ Αἰγινῆται τριήκοντα παρείχοντο. ἦσαν μὲν σφι καὶ ἄλλαι πεπληρωμένοι νέες, ἀλλὰ τῇσι μὲν τὴν ἐωυτῶν ἐφύλασσαν, τριήκοντα δὲ τῇσι ἄριστα πλωούσῃσι ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ἐναυμάχησαν. Αἰγινῆται δὲ εἰσι Δωριέες ἀπὸ Ἐπιδαύρου· τῇ δὲ νήσῳ πρότερον 25 οὐνομα ἦν Οἰνώνη. μετὰ δὲ Αἰγινήτας Χαλκιδέες τὰς ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ εἴκοσι παρεχόμενοι καὶ Ἑρετριέες

τὰς ἐπτά· οὗτοι δὲ Ἴωνες εἰσι. μετὰ δὲ Κεῖοι τὰ  
 αὐτὰς παρεχόμενοι, ἔθνος ἐὼν Ἰωνικὸν ἀπὸ Ἀθηνέων.  
 Νάξιοι δὲ παρείχοντο τέσσερας, ἀποπεμφθέντες μὲν  
 ἐς τοὺς Μήδους ὑπὸ τῶν πολιητέων, κατὰ περ ὅλλοι  
 5 ιησιῶται, ἀλογήσαντες δὲ τῶν ἐντολέων ἀπίκατο ἐς  
 τοὺς Ἑλληνας Δημοκρίτου σπεύσαντος, ἀνδρὸς τῶν  
 ἀστῶν δοκίμου καὶ τότε τριηραρχέοντος· Νάξιοι δέ  
 εἰσι Ἴωνες ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων γεγονότες. Στυρέες δὲ τὰς  
 αὐτὰς παρείχοντο νέας τὰς καὶ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ, Κίθ-  
 10 μοι δὲ μίαν καὶ πεντηκόντερον, ἐόντες συναμφότεροι  
 οὗτοι Δρύοπες. καὶ Σερίφιοί τε καὶ Σίφνιοι καὶ  
 Μήλιοι ἐστρατεύοντο· οἷτοι γὰρ οὐκ ἔδωσαν μῦνοι  
 ιησιωτέων τῇ βαρβάρῳ γῇν τε καὶ ὕδωρ. XLVII.  
 Οὗτοι μὲν ἅπαντες ἐντὸς οἰκημένοι Θεσπρωτῶν καὶ  
 15 Ἀχέροντος ποταμοῦ ἐστρατεύοντο· Θεσπρωτοὶ γάρ  
 εἰσι οἱ ὁμυρέοντες Ἀμπρακιήτησι καὶ Λευκαδίοισι,  
 οἱ ἐξ ἐσχατέων χωρέων ἐστρατεύοντο. τῶν δὲ ἐκτὸς  
 τούτων οἰκημένων Κροτωνιῆται μῦνοι ἦσαν, οἱ ἐβώ-  
 θησαν τῇ Ἑλλάδι κινδυνευούσῃ νηὶ μιῇ, τῆς ἡρχε  
 20 ἀνὴρ τρὶς πυθιονίκης Φαῦλλος· Κροτωνιῆται δὲ γένος  
 εἰσὶ Ἀχαιοί. XLVIII. Οἱ μὲν νυν ἄλλοι τριήρεας  
 παρεχόμενοι ἐστρατεύοντο, Μήλιοι δὲ καὶ Σίφνιοι  
 καὶ Σερίφιοι πεντηκοντέρους. Μήλιοι μὲν γένος ἐόν-  
 τες ἀπὸ Λακεδαίμονος δύο παρείχοντο, Σίφνιοι δὲ καὶ  
 25 Σερίφιοι Ἴωνες ἐόντες ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων μίαν ἐκάτεροι.  
 ἀριθμὸς δὲ ἐγένετο ὁ πᾶς τῶν νεῶν, πάρεξ τῶν πεν-  
 τηκοντέρων, τριηκόσiai καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ ὀκτώ.

*A council of war. The captains of the Peloponnesian ships  
 wish to retire nearer the Isthmus.*

XLIX. Ὡς δὲ ἐς τὴν Σαλαμίνα συνήλθον οἱ  
 στρατηγοὶ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰρημένων πολίων, ἐβουλεύοντο

προθέντος Εὐρύβιάδew γνῶμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι τὸν βουλόμενον, ὅκου δοκέοι ἐπιτηδεύατον εἶναι ναυμαχίην ποιέεσθαι τῶν αὐτοῖ χωρέων ἐγκρατέες εἰσί· ἢ γὰρ Ἀττικὴ <sup>αὐταῖς</sup> ἀπείτο ἤδη, τῶν δὲ λοιπέων πέρι προετίθεε. αἱ γνῶμαι δὲ τῶν λεγόντων αἱ πλείσται 5 συνεξέπιπτον πρὸς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν πλώσαντας ναυμαχέειν πρὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου, ἐπιλέγοντες τὸν λόγον τόνδε, ὥς ἦν νικηθέωσι τῇ ναυμαχίῃ, ἐν Σαλαμῖνι μὲν ἔοντες πολιορκήσονται ἐν νήσῳ, ἵνα σφι τιμωρίη οὐδεμία ἐπιφανήσεται, πρὸς δὲ τῷ Ἴσθμῳ ἐς τοὺς 10 ἐωυτῶν ἐξοίσονται.

*During the council news comes that Xerxes is in Attica  
wasting the land with fire and sword.*

L. Ταῦτα τῶν ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου στρατηγῶν ἐπιλεγομένων ἐληλύθεε ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος ἀγγέλλων ἥκειν τὸν βάρβαρον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν <sup>ἡσθ</sup> πύρπολέεσθαι. ὁ γὰρ διὰ Βοιωτῶν τραπό- 15 μενος στρατὸς ἅμα Ξέρξῃ, ἐμπρήσας Θεσπιδίων τὴν πόλιν (αὐτῶν ἐκλελοιπότες ἐς Πελοπόννησον) καὶ τὴν Πλαταιῶν ὡσαύτως, ἤκέ τε ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ *Attica* πάντα ἐκεῖνα ἐδηῖον. ἐνέπρησε δὲ Θέσπειάν τε καὶ Πλάταιαν πυθόμενος Θηβαίων, ὅτι οὐκ ἐμῆδιζον. 20

*The occupation of Athens,—an empty city except for the  
treasurers of the temples and a few poor citizens.*

LI. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς διαβάσιος τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου, ἔνθεν πορεύεσθαι ἤρξαντο οἱ βάρβαροι, ἕνα αὐτοῦ διατρίψαντες μῆνα, ἐν τῷ διέβαινον ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἐν τρισὶ ἑτέροισι μῆσι ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, Καλλιάδew ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίοισι. καὶ αἰρέουσιν ἐρῆμον 25 τὸ ἄστυ, καὶ τινὰς ὀλίγους εἰρίσκουσι τῶν Ἀθηναίων

ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ ἔοντας, ταμίας τε τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ πένητας  
 ἀνθρώπους, οἳ φραζάμενοι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν θύρησί τε  
 καὶ ξύλοισι ἡμύνοντο τοὺς ἐπιόντας, ἅμα μὲν ὑπ'  
 ἀσθενείης βίου οὐκ ἐκχωρήσαντες ἐς Σαλαμίνα, πρὸς  
 5 δὲ αὐτοὶ δοκέοντες ἐξευρηκέναι τὸ μαντήϊον, τὸ ἢ  
 Πυθίῃ σφι ἔχρησε, τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος ἀνάλωτον ἔσε-  
 σθαι, καὶ αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ κρησφύγετον κατὰ  
 τὸ μαντήϊον, καὶ οὐ τὰς νέας.

I. 141.

*The siege of the Acropolis.*

I.II. Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἰζόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸν καταντίον  
 10 τῆς ἀκροπόλιος ὄχθον, τὸν Ἀθηναῖοι καλέουσι Ἀρή-  
 ῖον πάγον, ἐπολιόρκεον τρόπον τοιόνδε· ὅπως στυ-  
 πείον περὶ τοὺς οἷστοὺς περιθέντες ~~ἄψαιαν~~ <sup>ἄψαιαν</sup>, ἐτόξευον  
 ἐς τὸ φράγμα. ἐνθαῦτα Ἀθηναίων οἱ πολιορκεό-  
 μνοι ὅμως ἡμύνοντο, καίπερ ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον κακοῦ  
 15 ἀπιγμένοι καὶ τοῦ φράγματος προδεδωκότος. οὐδὲ  
 λόγους τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν προσφερόντων περὶ  
 ὁμολογίης ἐνεδέκοντο, ἀμυνόμενοι δὲ ἄλλα τε ἀντε-  
 μηχανέοντο καὶ δὴ καὶ προσιόντων τῶν βαρβάρων  
 πρὸς τὰς πύλας ὀλοιτρόχους ἀπίεσαν ὥστε Ξέρξην  
 20 ἐπὶ χρόνον συχνὸν ἀπορίησι ἐνέχεσθαι οὐ δυνάμενόν  
 σφεας εἰλεῖν.

ἔλκετο  
 ἡ πόλις

*The Acropolis is stormed, the temples pillaged and burnt,  
 and a triumphant message despatched to Susa.*

LIII. Χρόνῳ δ' <sup>αὐτῇ</sup> ἐκ τῶν ἀπόρων ἐφάνη δὴ τις  
 ἔσοδος τοῖσι βαρβάροισι· ἔδεε γὰρ κατὰ τὸ θεοπρό-  
 πιον πᾶσαν τὴν Ἀττικὴν τὴν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ γενέσθαι  
 25 ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι. ἔμπροσθε ὦν πρὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλιος,  
 ὅπισθε δὲ τῶν πυλέων καὶ τῆς ἀνόδου, τῇ δὴ οὔτε τις  
 ἐφύλασσε οὔτ' ἂν ἤλπισε μή κοτέ τις κατὰ ταῦτα

ἀναβαίῃ ἀνθρώπων, ταύτῃ ἀνέβησάν τινες κατὰ τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Κέκροπος θυγατρὸς Ἀγλαΐου, καίτοι περ ἀποκρήμνου ἐόντος τοῦ χώρου. ὥς δὲ εἶδον αὐτοὺς ἀναβεβηκότας οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, οἱ μὲν ἐρρίπτεον ἐωυτοὺς κατὰ τοῦ τείχεος κάτω καὶ 5 διεφθείροντο, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ μέγαρον κατέφευγον. τῶν δὲ Περσέων οἱ ἀναβεβηκότες πρῶτον μὲν ἐτράποντο πρὸς τὰς πύλας, ταύτας δὲ ἀνοίξαντες τοὺς ἰκέτας ἐφόνεον· ἐπεὶ δὲ σφι πάντες κατέστρωντο, τὸ ἱρὸν συλήσαντες ἐνέπρησαν πᾶσαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. LIV. 10 Σχὼν δὲ παντελέως τὰς Ἀθήνας Ξέρξης ἀπέπεμψε ἐς Σοῦσα ἄγγελον ἱππέα Ἀρταβάνω ἀγγελέοντα τὴν παρευούσαν σφι εὐπρηξίην.

*The sacred olive shoots out afresh after its burning.*

Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς πέμψιος τοῦ κήρυκος δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ συγκαλέσας Ἀθηναίων τοὺς φυγάδας, ἐωυτῷ δὲ ἐπο- 15 μένους, ἐκέλευε τρόπῳ τῷ σφετέρῳ θῦσαι τὰ ἱρὰ ἀναβάντας ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, εἴτε δὴ ὦν ὅψιν τινὰ ἰδὼν ἐνυπνίου ἐνετέλλετο ταῦτα, εἴτε καὶ ἐνθυμίον οἱ ἐγένετο ἐμπρήσαντι τὸ ἱρόν. οἱ δὲ φυγάδες τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐποίησαν τὰ ἐντεταλμένα. LV. Τοῦ δὲ 20 εἵνεκεν τούτων ἐπεμνήσθην, φράσω. ἔστι ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ταύτῃ Ἐρεχθεὺς τοῦ γηγενέος λεγομένου εἶναι νηὸς, ἐν τῷ ἐλαίῃ τε καὶ θάλασσα ἔνι, τὰ λόγος παρ' Ἀθηναίων Ποσειδέωνά τε καὶ Ἀθηναίην ἐρίσαντας περὶ τῆς χώρας μαρτύρια θέσθαι. ταύτην ὦν τὴν 25 ἐλαίην ἅμα τῷ ἄλλῳ ἱρῷ κατέλαβε ἐμπρησθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων· δευτέρῃ δὲ ἡμέρῃ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμπρήσιος Ἀθηναίων οἱ θύειν ὑπὸ βασιλέος κελευόμενοι ὥς ἀνέβησαν ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν, ὥρεον βλαστὸν ἐκ τοῦ

στελέχεος ὅσον τε πηχναῖον ἀναδεδραμηκότα. Οὗτοι μὲν νυν ταῦτα ἔφρασαν.

*The news of the fall of the Acropolis caused such terror in the fleet at Salamis that many of the captains hurried to their ships to set sail; and the council determine on the movement towards the Isthmus.*

LVI. Οἱ δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι Ἕλληνες, ὥς σφι ἰξηγγέλθη, ὥς ἔσχε τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀθηνέων ἀκρόπολιν 5 ἐς τοσοῦτον θόρυβον ἀπίκοντο, ὥστε ἔνιοι τῶν στρατηγῶν οὐδὲ κυρωθῆναι ἔμενον τὸ προκείμενον πρήγμα, ἀλλ' ἐς τε τὰς νέας ἐσέπιπτον καὶ ἰστία ἡείροντο ὥς ἀποθ<sup>ε</sup>υσόμενοι. τοῖσί τε ὑπολειπομένοισι αὐτῶν ἐκυρώθη πρὸ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ναυμαχέειν. νύξ τε ἐγί- 10 νητο, καὶ οἱ διαλυθέντες ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου ἐσέβαινον ἐς τὰς νέας.

*Themistocles is persuaded to make another attempt to induce the Greeks to stay at Salamis.*

LVII. Ἐνθαῦτα δὴ Θεμιστοκλέα ἀπικόμενον ἐπὶ τὴν νέα εἶρετο Μνησίφιλος ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, ὅ τι σφι εἴη βεβουλευμένον. πυθόμενος δὲ πρὸς αὐτοῦ, 15 ὥς εἴη δεδογμένον ἀνάγειν τὰς νέας πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν καὶ πρὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ναυμαχέειν, εἶπε· “Οὐ τοι  
“ ἄρα, ἦν ἀπαείρωσι τὰς νέας ἀπὸ Σαλαμῖνος, οὐδὲ περὶ  
“ μιῆς ἔτι πατρίδος ναυμαχήσεις. κατὰ γὰρ πόλις  
“ ἕκαστοι τρέψονται, καὶ οὔτε σφέας Εὐρυβιάδης κατέ- 20  
“ χεῖν δυνησεται οὔτε τις ἀνθρώπων ἄλλος ὥστε μὴ  
“ οὐ διασκεδασθῆναι τὴν στρατιήν, ἀπολέεται τε ἡ  
“ Ἑλλάς ἀβουλίῃσι. ἀλλ' εἴ τις ἔστι μηχανή, ἣτι καὶ  
“ πειρῶ διαχέαι τὰ βεβουλευμένα, ἦν κως δύνη ἀνα-  
“ γνῶσαι Εὐρυβιάδεα μεταβουλεύσασθαι ὥστε αὐτοῦ



“μενέειν.” LVIII. Κάρτα δὴ τῷ Θεμιστοκλέϊ ἤρесе ἢ ὑποθήκη, καὶ οὐδὲν πρὸς ταῦτα ἀμειψάμενος ἦτε ἐπὶ τὴν νέα τὴν Εὐρυβιάδεω. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἔφη ἐθέλειν οἱ κοινόν τι πρῆγμα συμμῖξαι. ὁ δ’ αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν νέα ἐκέλευε ἐσβάντα λέγειν, εἴ τι ἐθέλοι. ἐν- 5 θαῦτα ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς παριζόμενός οἱ καταλέγει ἐκείνὰ τε πάντα, τὰ ἤκουσε Μνησιφίλου, ἐωυτοῦ ποιεύμενος, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ προστιθεὶς, ἐς ὃ ἀνέγνωσε χρηίζων ἐκ τε τῆς νεὸς ἐκβῆναι συλλέξαι τε τοὺς στρατηγούς ἐς τὸ συνέδριον. 10

*The council reassembled. A sharp debate.*

LIX. Ὡς δὲ ἄρα συνελέχθησαν, πρὶν ἢ τὸν Εὐρυβιάδεα προθεῖναι τὸν λόγον τῶν εἵνεκεν συνήγαγε τοὺς στρατηγούς, πολλὸς ἦν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐν τοῖσι λόγοισι οἷα κάρτα δεόμενος. λέγοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ὁ Κορίνθιος στρατηγὸς Ἀδείμαντος ὁ Ὠκύτου εἶπε· 15 “ὦ Θεμιστόκλεες, ἐν τοῖσι ἀγῶσι οἱ προεξανιστάμενοι ῥαπίζονται.” ὁ δὲ ἀπολυόμενος ἔφη. “Οἱ δέ γε ἐγκαταλειπόμενοι οὐ στεφανεύνται.” LX. Τότε μὲν ἠπίως πρὸς τὸν Κορίνθιον ἀμείψατο, πρὸς δὲ τὸν Εὐρυβιάδεα ἔλεγε ἐκείνων μὲν οὐκέτι οὐδὲν τῶν 20 πρότερον λεχθέντων, ὥς ἐπεὰν ἀπαείρῃσι ἀπὸ Σαλαμῖνος, διαδρήσονται· παρεόντων γὰρ τῶν συμμάχων οὐκ ἔφερε οἱ κόσμον οὐδένα κατηγορεῖν· ὁ δὲ ἄλλου λόγου εἶχετο, λέγων τάδε.

*The speech of Themistocles.*

I. “Ἐν σοὶ νῦν ἐστὶ σῶσαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἣν ἐμοὶ 25 “πέιθη ναυμαχίην αὐτοῦ μένων ποιέεσθαι, μηδὲ πειθόμενος τούτων τοῖσι λέγουσι ἀναζεύξης πρὸς τὸν

- “ Ἴσθμὸν τὰς νέας. ἀντίθες γὰρ ἐκάτερον ἀκούσας.  
 “ πρὸς μὲν τῷ Ἴσθμῷ συμβάλλων ἐν πελάγει ἀνα-  
 “ πεπταμένῳ ναυμαχήσεις, τὸ ἥκιστα ἡμῖν σύμφoron  
 “ ἐστὶ νέας ἔχουσι βαρυτέρας καὶ ἀριθμὸν ἐλάσσοντας,  
 5 “ τοῦτο δὲ ἀπολέεις Σαλαμῖνά τε καὶ Μέγαρα καὶ  
 “ Λίγιναν, ἣν περ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα εὐτυχήσωμεν. ἅμα  
 “ γὰρ τῷ ναυτικῷ αὐτῶν ἔψεται καὶ ὁ πεζὸς στρατός.  
 “ καὶ οὕτω σφέας αὐτὸς ἄξεις ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον,  
 “ κινδυνεύσεις τε ἀπάσῃ τῇ Ἑλλάδι. 2. “ Ἦν δὲ τὰ ἐγὼ  
 10 “ λέγω ποιήσης, τοσάδε ἐν αὐτοῖσι χρηστὰ εὐρήσεις·  
 “ πρῶτα μὲν ἐν στεινῷ συμβάλλοντες νηυσὶ ὀλίγησι  
 “ πρὸς πολλὰς, ἣν τὰ οἰκότα ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου ἐκβαίνη,  
 “ πολλὸν κρατήσομεν,—τὸ γὰρ ἐν στεινῷ ναυμαχέειν  
 “ πρὸς ἡμέων ἐστὶ, ἐν εὐρυχωρίῃ δὲ πρὸς ἐκείνων,—  
 15 “ αἵτις δὲ Σαλαμῖς περιγίνεται, ἐς τὴν ἡμῖν ὑπεκκείται  
 “ τέκνα τε καὶ γυναῖκες. καὶ μὴν καὶ τότε ἐν αὐτοῖσι  
 “ ἔνεστι, τοῦ καὶ περιέχεσθε μάλιστα· ὁμοίως αὐτοῦ  
 “ τε μένων προναυμαχήσεις Πελοποννήσου καὶ πρὸς  
 “ τῷ Ἴσθμῳ, οὐδέ σφεας, εἴ περ εὖ φρονέεις, ἄξεις ἐπὶ  
 20 “ τὴν Πελοπόννησον. 3. “ Ἦν δέ γε καὶ τὰ ἐγὼ ἐλπίζω  
 “ γένηται καὶ νικήσωμεν τῇσι νηυσὶ, οὔτε ὑμῖν ἐς τὸν  
 “ Ἴσθμὸν παρέσονται οἱ βάρβαροι οὔτε προβήσονται  
 “ ἐκαστέρῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἀπίασί τε οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ,  
 “ Μεγάροισί τε κερδανέομεν περιεοῦσι καὶ Λίγινῃ καὶ  
 25 “ Σαλαμῖνι, ἐν τῇ ἡμῖν καὶ λόγιόν ἐστὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν  
 “ κατῦπερθε γενέσθαι. οἰκότα μὲν νυν βουλευομένοισι  
 “ ἀνθρώποισι ὥς τὸ ἐπίπαν <sup>διὰ</sup> ἐθέλει γίνεσθαι, μὴ δὲ  
 “ οἰκότα βουλευομένοισι οὐκ ἐθέλει οὐδὲ ὁ θεὸς προσ-  
 “ χωρέειν πρὸς τὰς ἀνθρωπηϊὰς γνώμας.”



*A retort and a threat.*

LXI. Ταῦτα λέγοντος Θεμιστοκλέος αὐτῖς ὁ  
 Κορίνθιος Ἀδείμαντος ἐπεφέρετο, σιγᾶν τε κελεύων  
 τῷ μὴ ἔστι πατρίς, καὶ Εὐρυβιάδεα οὐκ ἔων ἐπιψη- <sup>to push the</sup>  
 φίζειν ἀπόλι ἀνδρί· πόλιν γὰρ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα <sup>the un-</sup>  
 παρεχόμενον οὕτω ἐκέλευε γνώμας συμβάλλεσθαι. 5  
 ταῦτα δέ οἱ προέφερε, ὅτι ἡλάκεσάν τε καὶ κατεί-  
 χοντο αἱ Ἀθηναί. τότε δὴ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐκείνόν  
 τε καὶ τοὺς Κορινθίους πολλά τε καὶ κακὰ ἔλεγε,  
 ἑωυτοῖσί τε ἐδήλου λόγῳ ὥς εἶη καὶ πόλις καὶ γῆ  
 μέζων ἥπερ ἐκείνοισι, ἔστ' ἂν διηκόσῃαι νέες σφι 10  
 ἔωσι πεπληρωμένοι· οὐδαμὸς γὰρ Ἑλλήνων αὐτοὺς  
 ἐπιόντας ἀποκρούσεσθαι. LXII. Σημαίνων δὲ ταῦτα  
 τῷ λόγῳ διέβαινε ἐς Εὐρυβιάδεα, λέγων μᾶλλον  
 ἐπεστραμμένα· “Σὺ εἰ μενέεις αὐτοῦ καὶ μένων ἔσεαι  
 “ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀνατρέψεις τὴν Ἑλλάδα. τὸ 15  
 “πᾶν γὰρ ἡμῖν τοῦ πολέμου φέρουσι αἱ νέες. ἀλλ’  
 “ἐμοὶ πείθεο. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὴ ποιήσεις, ἡμεῖς μὲν, ὥς  
 “ἔχομεν, ἀναλαμβάνοντες τοὺς οἰκέτας κομιεύμεθα ἐς  
 “Σῆριν τὴν ἐν Ἰταλίῃ, ἥ περ ἡμετέρη τέ ἐστι ἐκ  
 “παλαιοῦ ἔτι, καὶ τὰ λόγια λέγει ὑπ’ ἡμέων αὐτὴν 20  
 “δέειν κτισθῆναι· ὑμεῖς δὲ συμμάχων τοιῶνδε μουνω-  
 “θέντες μεμνήσεσθε τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων.”

*Eurybiades is persuaded.*

LXIII. Ταῦτα δὲ Θεμιστοκλέος λέγοντος ἀνε-  
 διδάσκετο Εὐρυβιάδης. δοκέειν δέ μοι, ἀρρωδήσας  
 μάλιστα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀνεδιδάσκετο, μὴ σφεας 25  
 ἀπολίπωσι, ἣν πρὸς τὸν Ἴσθμόν ἀνάγῃ τὰς νέας.  
 ἀπολιπόντων γὰρ Ἀθηναίων οὐκέτι ἐγίνοντο ἀξιό-

μαχοι οἱ λοιποί. ταύτην δὲ αἰρέεται τὴν γνώμην αὐτοῦ μένοντας διανανμαχέειν.

*An earthquake. The Acaidae, national heroes of Salamis, are sent for.*

LXIV. Οὕτω μὲν οἱ περὶ Σαλαμῖνα ἔπεσι ἀκροβαλισάμενοι, ἐπεὶ τε Εὐρυβιάδῃ ἔδοξε, αὐτοῦ παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς ναυμαχήσοντες. ἡμέρη τε ἐγένετο καὶ ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνιόντι σεισμὸς ἐγένετο ἐν τε τῇ γῇ καὶ τῇ θαλάσῃ. ἔδοξε δέ σφι εὐξασθαι τοῖσι θεοῖσι καὶ ἐπικαλέσασθαι τοὺς Αἰακίδας συμμαχούς. ὡς δέ σφι ἔδοξε, καὶ ἐποίεον ταῦτα· εὐξάμενοι γὰρ πᾶσι τοῖσι θεοῖσι αὐτόθεν μὲν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος Ἀἴαντά τε καὶ Τελαμῶνα ἐπεκαλέοντο, ἐπὶ δὲ Αἰακὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Αἰακίδας νέα ἀπέστελλον ἐς Αἴγινα.

*The mystic procession is seen coming along the Sacred way from Eleusis, and the sacred Bacchic shout is heard.*

LXV. Ἐφη δὲ Δικαῖος ὁ Θεοκύδεος ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, φυγὰς τε καὶ παρὰ Μήδοισι λόγιμος γενόμενος τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, ἐπεὶ τε ἐκείρετο ἡ Ἀττικὴ χώρα ὑπὸ τοῦ πεζοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ Ξέρξεω ἐοῦσα ἐρήμος Ἀθηναίων, τυχεῖν τότε ἔων ἅμα Δημαρήτῳ τῷ Λακεδαιμονίῳ ἐν τῷ Θριασίῳ πεδίῳ, ἰδεῖν δὲ κονιορτὸν χωρέοντα ἀπὸ Ἐλευσίνος ὡς ἀνδρῶν μάλιστά κη τρισμυρίων, ἀποθωυμάζειν τέ σφας τὸν κονιορτὸν ὅτε ἂν κοτε εἴη ἀνθρώπων, καὶ <sup>ἐκ τῆς</sup> προκαίτε φωνῆς ἀκούειν, καὶ οἱ φαίνεσθαι τὴν φωνὴν εἶναι τὸν μυστικὸν ἱακχον. εἶναι δ' ἀδαήμονα τῶν ἱρῶν τῶν ἐν Ἐλευσίνι γινομένων τὸν Δημάρητον, εἶρεσθαί τε αὐτὸν, ὅ τι τὸ φθεγγόμενον εἴη τοῦτο· αὐτὸς δὲ εἶπαι· “Δημάρητε, οὐκ ἔστι ὅπως οὐ μέγα τι σίνος ἔσται τῇ

“ βασιλέος στρατιῇ. τάδε γὰρ ἀρίδηλα ἐρήμου ἐούσης  
 “ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὅτι θεῖον τὸ φθεγγόμενον, ἀπὸ Ἑλευ-  
 “ σῖνος ἰὸν ἐς τιμωρίην Ἀθηναίοισι τε καὶ τοῖσι συμ-  
 “ μάχοισι. καὶ ἦν μὲν γε κατασκήψῃ ἐς τὴν Πελο-  
 “ πόνησον, κίνδυνος αὐτῷ τε βασιλεῖ καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ 5  
 “ τῇ ἐν τῇ ὑπείρῳ ἔσται, ἦν δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς νέας τράπηται  
 “ τὰς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι, τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν κινδυνεύσει  
 “ βασιλεὺς ἀποβαλεῖν. τὴν δὲ ὀρτὴν ταύτην ἄγουσι  
 “ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνὰ πάντα ἕταε τῇ Μητρὶ καὶ τῇ Κούρῃ,  
 “ καὶ αὐτῶν τε ὁ βουλόμενος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων 10  
 “ μυεῖται καὶ τὴν φωνὴν, τῆς ἀκούεις, ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὀρτῇ  
 “ ἱακχάζουσι.” Πρὸς ταῦτα εἰπεῖν Δημάρητον. “Σίγα  
 “ τε καὶ μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον εἴπῃς. ἦν γάρ  
 “ τοι ἐς βασιλέα ἀνενειχθῇ τὰ ἔπεα ταῦτα, ἀποβαλέεις  
 “ τὴν κεφαλὴν, καὶ σε οὔτε ἐγὼ δυνήσομαι ῥύσασθαι 15  
 “ οὔτ’ ἄλλος ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ εἷς. ἀλλ’ ἔχ’ ἥσυχος,  
 “ περὶ δὲ στρατιῆς τῆσδε θεοῖσι μελήσει.” Τὸν μὲν δὴ  
 ταῦτα παραινέειν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ κονιορτοῦ καὶ τῆς φωνῆς  
 γενέσθαι νέφος καὶ μεταρσιωθὲν φέρεσθαι ἐπὶ Σαλα-  
 μῖνος ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. οὕτω 20  
 δὲ αὐτοὺς μαθεῖν, ὅτι τὸ ναυτικὸν τὸ Ξέρξεω ἀπολέε-  
 σθαι μέλλοι. Ταῦτα μὲν Δικαῖος ὁ Θεοκύδεος ἔλεγε,  
 Δημαρήτου τε καὶ ἄλλων μαρτύρων καταπτόμενος.

*The Persian navy meanwhile had left Histiaea and in six  
 days arrived at Phalerum.*

LXVI. Οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸν Ξέρξεω ναυτικὸν στρατὸν  
 ταχθέντες, ἐπειδὴ ἐκ Τρηχίνος θηησάμενοι τὸ τρώμα 25  
 τὸ Λακωνικὸν διέβησαν ἐς τὴν Ἰστιαίην, ἐπισχόντες  
 ἡμέρας τρεῖς ἔπλων δι’ Εὐρίπου, καὶ ἐν ἐτέρῃσι  
 τρισὶ ἡμέρῃσι ἐγένοντο ἐν Φαλήρῳ. ὥς μὲν ἐμοὶ

δοκέειν, οὐκ ἐλάσσονες ὄντες ἀριθμὸν ἐσέβαλον ἐς  
 τὰς Ἀθήνας, κατὰ τε ἡπειρον καὶ τῇσι νηυσὶ ἀπικό-  
 μαιοι, ἢ ἐπὶ τε Σηπιάδα ἀπίκοντο καὶ ἐς Θερμο-  
 πύλας. ἀντιθήσω γὰρ τοῖσί τε ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος  
 5 αὐτῶν ἀπολομένοισι καὶ τοῖσι ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι καὶ  
 τῇσι ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ναυμαχίῃσι τούσδε τοὺς τότε  
 οὐκῶ ἐπομένους βασιλεῖ, Μηλιάς τε καὶ Δωριέας  
 καὶ Λοκροὺς καὶ Βοιωτοὺς πανστρατιῇ ἐπομένους  
 πλὴν Θεσπιέων τε καὶ Πλαταιέων καὶ μάλα Καρυ-  
 10 στίους τε καὶ Ἀνδρίους καὶ Τηνίους τε καὶ τοὺς  
 λοιποὺς ἰησιώτας πάντας πλὴν τῶν πέντε πολίων,  
 τῶν ἐπεμνήσθην πρότερον τὰ οὐνόματα. ὅσῳ γὰρ  
 δὴ προέβαινε ἐσωτέρῳ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὁ Πέρσης, το-  
 σούτῳ πλέω ἔθνεά οἱ εἶπετο.

*Nerxes holds a council of war with the naval commanders.  
 Shall he fight or no?*

15 LXVII. Ἐπεὶ ὦν ἀπύκατο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας  
 πάντες οὗτοι πλὴν Παρίων (Πάριοι δὲ ὑπολειφθέντες  
 ἐν Κύνθῳ ἐκαπαδόκεον τὸν πόλεμον κῆ ἀποβήσεται),  
 οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ὥς ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὸ Φάληρον, ἐνθαῦτα  
 κατέβη αὐτὸς Ξέρξης ἐπὶ τὰς νέας, ἐθέλων σφι  
 20 συμμίξαι τε καὶ πυθέσθαι τῶν ἐπιπλώνοντων τὰς  
 γνώμας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπικόμενος προΐζετο, παρήσαν μετά-  
 πεμπτοι οἱ τῶν ἐθνέων τῶν σφετέρων τύραννοι καὶ  
 ταξίάρχοι ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν, καὶ ἴζοντο ὥς σφι βασιλεὺς  
 ἐκάστῳ τιμὴν ἐδεδάκεε, πρῶτος μὲν ὁ Σιδώνιος βα-  
 25 σιλεὺς, μετὰ δὲ ὁ Τύριος, ἐπὶ δὲ ὅλλοι. ὥς δὲ κόσμῳ  
 ἐπεξῆς ἴζοντο, πέμψας Ξέρξης Μαρδόνιον εἰρώτα,  
 ἀποπειρώμενος ἐκάστου, εἰ ναυμαχίην ποιεοίτο.

*All answer yea except Artemisia.*

LXVIII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ περιῶν εἰρώτα ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ Σιδωνίου, οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν γνώμην ἐξεφέρουντο, κελεύοντες ναυμαχίην ποιεέσθαι, Ἀρτεμισίη δὲ τάδε ἔφη.

*Speech of Artemisia. She councils delay, and an advance rather of the land forces.*

I. “Εἰπαί μοι πρὸς βασιλέα, Μαρδόνιε, ὡς ἐγὼ 5  
 “τάδε λέγω οὔτε κακίστη γενομένη ἐν τῇσι ναυμα-  
 “χίησι τῇσι πρὸς Εὐβοίῃ οὔτε ἐλάχιστα ἀποδεξα-  
 “μένη. δέσποτα, τὴν δὲ ἐοῦσαν γνώμην με δίκαιόν  
 “ἐστὶν ἀποδείκνυσθαι, τὰ τυγχάνω φρονέουσα ἄριστα  
 “ἐς πρήγματα τὰ σά. καὶ τοι τάδε λέγω, φείδεο τῶν 10  
 “νεῶν μηδὲ ναυμαχίην ποιεέο. οἱ γὰρ ἄνδρες τῶν  
 “σῶν ἀνδρῶν κρέσσοιες τοσοῦτό εἰσι κατὰ θάλασσαν,  
 “ὅσον ἄνδρες γυναικῶν. τί δὲ πάντως δέει σε ναυμα-  
 “χίησι ἀνακινδυνεύειν; οὐκ ἔχεις μὲν τὰς Ἀθήνας,  
 “τῶν περ εἵνεκεν ὠρμήθης στρατεύεσθαι, ἔχεις δὲ τὴν 15  
 “ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα; ἐμποδὼν δέ τοι ἴσταται οὐδεὶς· οὐ  
 “δέ τοι ἀντέστησαν, ἀπήλλαξαν οὕτω, ὡς ἐκείνους  
 “ἔπρεπε. 2. Τῇ δὲ ἐγὼ δοκέω ἀποβήσεσθαι τὰ τῶν  
 “ἀντιπολέμων πρήγματα, τοῦτο φράσω· ἦν μὲν μὴ  
 “ἐπειχθῆς ναυμαχίην ποιεύμενος, ἀλλὰ τὰς νέας αὐτοῦ 20  
 “ἔχης πρὸς γῇ μένων, ἢ καὶ προβαίνων ἐς τὴν Πελο-  
 “πόννησον, εὐπετέως τοι, δέσποτα, χωρήσει τὰ νοέων  
 “ἐλήλυθας. οὐ γὰρ οἰοί τε πολλὸν χρόνον εἰσὶ τοι  
 “ἀντέχειν οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἀλλὰ σφεας διασκεδᾶς, κατὰ  
 “πόλιν δὲ ἕκαστοι φεύξονται. οὔτε γὰρ σίτος πάρα 25  
 “σφίσι ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ταύτῃ, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, οὔτε  
 “αὐτοὺς οἶκος, ἦν σὺ ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐλαύνης

“ τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν, ἀτρεμίειν τοὺς ἐκείθεν αὐτῶν  
 “ ἤκοντας, οὐδέ σφι μελήσει πρὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ναυ-  
 “ μαχέειν. 3. Ἦν δὲ αὐτίκα ἐπειχθῆς ναυμαχῆσαι,  
 “ δειμαίνω, μὴ ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς κακωθεὶς τὸν πεζὸν  
 5 “ προσδηλήσῃται. πρὸς δὲ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ τότε ἐς  
 “ θυμὸν βάλευ, ὥς τοῖσι μὲν χρηστοῖσι τῶν ἀνθρώπων  
 “ κακοὶ δοῦλοι φιλέουσι γίνεσθαι, τοῖσι δὲ κακοῖσι  
 “ χρηστοί. σοὶ δὲ εἰντι ἀρίστῳ ἀνδρῶν πάντων κακοὶ  
 “ δοῦλοι εἰσὶ, οἳ ἐν συμμάχων λόγῳ λέγονται εἶναι,  
 10 “ ἔοντες Αἰγύπτιοί τε καὶ Κίπριοι καὶ Κίλικες καὶ  
 “ Πάμφυλοι, τῶν ὄφελός ἐστι οὐδέν.”

*Xerxes, though agreeing with Artemisia, orders that the  
 opinion of the majority should be followed.*

LXIX. Ταῦτα λεγούσης πρὸς Μαρδόνιον, ὅσοι  
 μὲν ἦσαν εἵκοσι τῇ Ἀρτεμισίῃ, συμφορὴν ἐποιεῦντο  
 τοὺς λόγους ὥς κακόν τι πεισομένης πρὸς βασιλέος,  
 15 ὅτι οὐκ ἔα ναυμαχίην ποιέεσθαι, οἳ δὲ ἀγαιόμενοί τε  
 καὶ φθονέοντες αὐτῇ, ἅτε ἐν πρώτοισι τετιμημένης  
 διὰ πάντων τῶν συμμάχων, ἐτέρποντο τῇ κρίσι ὥς  
 ἀπολεομένης αὐτῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνηνείχθησαν αἱ γνώ-  
 μαι ἐς Ξέρξην, κάρτα τε ἦσθη τῇ γνώμῃ τῆς Ἀρτε-  
 20 μισίης, καὶ νομίζων ἔτι πρότερον σπουδαίην εἶναι  
 τότε πολλῷ μᾶλλον αἶνεε. ὅμως δὲ τοῖσι πλέοσι  
 πείθεσθαι ἐκέλευε, τάδε καταδόξας, πρὸς μὲν Εὐβοίῃ  
 σφέας ἐθελοκακέειν ὥς οὐ παρεύντος αὐτοῦ, τότε δὲ  
 αὐτὸς παρεσκεύαστο θηήσασθαι ναυμαχέοντας.

*The day before the battle. The Persian ships are brought  
 up gradually into position opposite Salamis.*

25 LXX. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ παρήγγελλον ἀναπλώειν, ἀνῆ-  
 γον τὰς νέας ἐπὶ τὴν Σαλαμίνα, καὶ παρεκρίθησαν



διαταχθέντες κατ' ἡσυχίην. τότε μὲν νυν οὐκ ἐξέ-  
 χρησέ σφι ἡ ἡμέρη ναυμαχίην ποιήσασθαι, νύξ γὰρ  
 ἐπεγένετο, οἱ δὲ παρεσκευάζοντο ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίην.  
 τοὺς δὲ Ἕλληνας εἶχε δέος τε καὶ ἀρρώδιη, οὐκ  
 ἤκιστα δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου. ἀρρώδεον δὲ, 5  
 ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι κατήμενοι ὑπὲρ γῆς τῆς  
 Ἀθηναίων ναυμαχεῖν μέλλοιεν, νικηθέντες τε ἐν  
 νήσῳ ἀπολαμφθέντες πολιορκήσονται, ἀπέντες τὴν  
 ἑωυτῶν ἀφύλακτον.

*The Persian land forces advance in the night towards  
 the Isthmus. The Skironian pass had been already  
 occupied by a large force under the Spartan Cleom-  
 brotus, and a wall was being hastily built across the  
 Isthmus.*

LXXI. Τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ὁ πεζὸς ὑπὸ τὴν 10  
 παρεούσαν νύκτα ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον·  
 καίτοι τὰ δυνατὰ πάντα ἐμεμηχάνητο, ὥκως κατ'  
 ἡπειρον μὴ ἐσβάλοιεν οἱ βάρβαροι. ὥς γὰρ ἐπύ-  
 θοντο τάχιστα Πελοποννήσιαι τοὺς ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην  
 ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι τετελευτηκέναι, συνδραμόντες ἐκ 15  
 τῶν πολίων ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἵζοντο, καὶ σφι ἐπὴν  
 στρατηγὸς Κλεόμβροτος ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδew, Λεωνίδew  
 δὲ ἀδελφεός. ἰζόμενοι δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἴσθμῳ καὶ συγχώ-  
σαντες τὴν Σκιρωνίδα ὁδὸν, μετὰ τοῦτο ὥς σφι ἔδοξε  
 βουλευομένοισι, οἰκοδόμεον διὰ τοῦ Ἴσθμοῦ τείχος. 20  
 ἵτε δὴ ἐουσέων μυριάδων πολλέων καὶ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς  
 ἐργαζομένου ἦνετο τὸ ἔργον· καὶ γὰρ λίθοι καὶ πλίν-  
 θοι καὶ ξύλα καὶ φορμοὶ ψάμμου πλήρεις ἐσεφο-  
 ρέοντο, καὶ ἐλίνυον οὐδένα χρόνον οἱ βοηθήσαντες  
 ἐργαζόμενοι, οὔτε νυκτὸς οὔτε ἡμέρης. LXXII. Οἱ 25  
 δὲ βοηθήσαντες ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν πανδημεὶ οἶδε ἦσαν



Ἑλλήνων, Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε καὶ Ἀρκάδες πάντες καὶ Ἡλείοι καὶ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Σικυνῶνιοι καὶ Ἐπιδαύριοι καὶ Φλιάσιοι καὶ Τροιζήνιοι καὶ Ἑρμιονέες. οὗτοι μὲν ἦσαν οἱ βοηθήσαντες καὶ ὑπεραρρωδέοντες τῇ  
 5 Ἑλλάδι κινδυνεύουσῃ, τοῖσι δὲ ἄλλοισι Πελοποννησίοισι ἔμελε οὐδέν. Ὀλύμπια δὲ καὶ Κάρνεια παροιχώκεε ἤδη.

*The nations inhabiting the Peloponnese.*

LXXIII. Οἰκέει δὲ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἔθνεα ἑπτὰ. τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν δύο αὐτόχθονα ἔοντα κατὰ  
 10 χώρην ἱδρύται νῦν τῇ καὶ τὸ πάλαι οἴκεον, Ἀρκάδες τε καὶ Κυνοῦριοι. ἐν δὲ ἔθνος τὸ Ἀχαϊκὸν ἐκ μὲν Πελοποννήσου οὐκ ἐξεχώρησε, ἐκ μέντοι τῆς ἐνυτῶν, οἰκέει δὲ τὴν ἀλλατρίην. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἔθνεα τῶν ἑπτὰ τέσσερα ἐπὶ ἡλυδία ἐστί, Δωριέες τε καὶ Αἰτωλοὶ  
 15 καὶ Δρύοπες καὶ Λήμνιοι. Δωριέων μὲν πολλαί τε καὶ δόκιμοι πόλεις, Αἰτωλῶν δὲ Ἥλις μούνη, Δρυόπων δὲ Ἑρμιόνη τε καὶ Ἀσίνη ἢ πρὸς Καρδαμύλῃ τῇ Λακωνικῇ, Λημνίων δὲ Παρωρεῖται πάντες. οἱ δὲ Κυνοῦριοι αὐτόχθονες ἔοντες δοκέουσι μούνοι εἶναι  
 20 Ἴωνες, ἐκδεδωρίευνται δὲ ὑπὸ τε Ἀργείων ἀρχόμενοι καὶ <sup>ἐπὶ</sup> τοῦ χρόνου, ἔοντες Ὀρνεῖται καὶ <sup>σε</sup> περίοικοι. Τούτων ὦν τῶν ἑπτὰ ἐθνέων αἱ λοιπαὶ πόλεις, παρέξ τῶν κατέλεξα, ἐκ τοῦ μέσου κατέατο· εἰ δὲ ἐλευθέρως ἔξεστι εἰπεῖν, ἐκ τοῦ μέσου κατήμενοι ἐμῇδιζον.

*The movement of the Persian land forces renewed the determination of the Greek captains to retreat towards the Peloponnesus.*

25 LXXIV. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ τοιοῦτῳ πόνῳ συνέστασαν, ἅτε περὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἤδη δρόμον θέοντες

καὶ τῇσι νηυσὶ οὐκ ἐλπίζοντες ἐλλάμψεσθαι οἱ δὲ  
 ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ὅμως ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι ἀρρώδεον, οὐκ  
 οὕτω περὶ σφίσι αὐτοῖσι δειμαίνοντες, ὥς περὶ τῇ  
 Πελοποννήσῳ. τέως μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὶ παρα-  
 3 all στας σίγῃ λόγον ἐποιέετο, θῶμα ποιεύμενοι τὴν 5  
 Εὐρυβιάδew ἀβουλίην, τέλος δὲ ἐξερράγη ἐς τὸ μέσον.  
 σύλλογός τε δὴ ἐγίνετο, καὶ πολλὰ ἐλέγετο περὶ τῶν  
 αὐτῶν, οἱ μὲν, ὥς ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον χρεὼν εἶη  
 ἀποπλῶειν καὶ περὶ ἐκείνης κινδυνεύειν, μηδὲ πρὸ  
 χώρας δοριαλώτου μένοντας μάχεσθαι, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ 10  
 καὶ Αἰγινῆται καὶ Μεγαρέες αὐτοῦ μένοντας ἀμύ-  
 νεσθαι.

*The stratagem of Themistocles.* ἔσσω σου φονήν

LXXV. Ἐνθαῦτα Θεμιστοκλῆς ὥς ἔσσοῦτο τῇ  
 γνώμῃ ὑπὸ τῶν Πελοποννησίων, λαθὼν ἐξέρχεται ἐκ  
 τοῦ συνεδρίου, ἐξελθὼν δὲ πέμπει ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον 15  
 τὸ Μήδων ἀνδρα πλοῖω, ἐντειλάμενος τὰ λέγειν χρεὼν,  
 τῷ οὖνομα μὲν ἦν Σίκιννος, οἰκέτης δὲ καὶ παιδα-  
 γωγὸς ἦν τῶν Θεμιστοκλέος παίδων, τὸν δὴ ὕστερον  
 τούτων τῶν πρηγμάτων Θεμιστοκλῆς Θεσπίεα τε  
 ἐποίησε, ὥς ἐπεδέκοντο οἱ Θεσπίεες πολιήτας, καὶ 20  
 χρήμασι ὄλβιον. ὃς τότε πλοῖω ἀπικόμενος ἔλεγε  
 πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγούς τῶν βαρβάρων τάδε· “Ἐπεμ-  
 “ψέ με στρατηγὸς ὁ Ἀθηναίων λάθρη τῶν ἄλλων  
 “Ἑλλήνων (τυγχάνει γὰρ φρονέων τὰ βασιλέος καὶ  
 “βουλόμενος μᾶλλον τὰ ὑμέτερα κατύπερθε γίνεσθαι 25  
 “ἢ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρήγματα) φράσσοντα, ὅτι οἱ  
 “Ἕλληνες δρησμὸν βουλεύονται καταρρωδηκότες,  
 “καὶ νῦν παρέχει κάλλιστον ὑμέας ἔργον ἀπάντων  
 “ἐξεργάσασθαι, ἣν μὴ περιίδητε διαδράντας αὐτοὺς.  
 “οὔτε γὰρ ἀλλήλοισι ὁμοφρονέουσι οὔτ’ ἔτι ἀντιστή- 30

“σονται ὑμῖν, πρὸς ἑαυτούς τε σφέας ὕψεσθε ναυμα-  
 “χέοντας τοὺς τὰ ὑμέτερα φρονέοντας καὶ τοὺς μὴ.”

*The Persians, believing that the Greeks intend to escape, first occupy the island Psyttaleia, and at midnight move their right wing forward close to Salamis so as to enclose the Greek fleet, and their left wing so as to block up the Strait between Salamis and Munychia.*

LXXVI. Ὁ μὲν ταῦτά σφι σημήνας ἐκποδὼν ἀπαλλάσσετο, τοῖσι δὲ ὡς πιστὰ ἐγίνετο τὰ ἀγγελ-  
 5 θέντα, τοῦτο μὲν ἐς τὴν νησιῶδα τὴν Ψυττάλειαν, μεταξὺ Σαλαμῖνός τε κειμένην καὶ τῆς ἠπείρου, πολ-  
 λούς τῶν Περσέων ἀπεβίβασαν, τοῦτο δὲ, ἐπειδὴ ἐγίνοντο μέσαι νύκτες, ἀνῆγον μὲν τὸ ἀπ’ ἐσπέρης κέρας κυκλούμενοι πρὸς τὴν Σαλαμίνα, ἀνῆγον δὲ οἱ  
 10 ἀμφὶ τὴν Κέον τε καὶ τὴν Κυρόσουραν τεταγμένοι, κατεῖχόν τε μέχρι Μουνυχίης πάντα τὸν πορθμὸν τῇσι νηυσί. τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκεν ἀνῆγον τὰς νέας, ἵνα δὴ τοῖσι Ἕλλησι μὴδὲ φυγεῖν ἐξῇ, ἀλλ’ ἀπολαμφθέντες ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνι δοῖεν τίσιν τῶν ἐπ’ Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἀγω-  
 15 νισμάτων. ἐς δὲ τὴν νησιῶδα τὴν Ψυττάλειαν καλεομένην ἀπεβίβαζον τῶν Περσέων τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ὥς ἐπεὰν γένηται ναυμαχίη, ἐνθαῦτα μάλιστα ἐξοισομέ-  
 νων τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν ναυηγίων (ἐν γὰρ δὴ πόρῳ τῆς ναυμαχίης τῆς μελλούσης ἔσεσθαι ἐκέετο  
 20 ἡ νῆσος), ἵνα τοὺς μὲν περιποιᾷσι, τοὺς δὲ διαφθεί-  
 ρωσι. ἐποίουν δὲ σιγῇ ταῦτα, ὥς μὴ πυκθανοίατο οἱ ἐναντίοι. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα τῆς νυκτὸς οὐδὲν ἀποκοι-  
 μηθέντες παραρτέοντο.

*An oracle fulfilled.*

LXXVII. Χρησμοῖσι δὲ οὐκ ἔχω ἀντιλέγειν ὥς  
 25 οὐκ εἰσὶ ἀληθείες, οὐ βουλόμενος ἐναργέως λέγοντας

πειρᾶσθαι καταβάλλειν, ἐς τοιάδε πρήγματα ἐσβλέψας.

Ἄλλ' ἔταν Ἀρτέμιδος <sup>with word of gold</sup> χρυσαοροῦ ἱερὸν ἄκτῃν  
 νηυσὶ γεφυρώσωσι καὶ εἰναλὴν Κυνόσουραν,  
 ἐλπίδι μαινομένη <sup>rich</sup> λιπαρὰς πέρσαντες Ἀθήνας, 5  
 διὰ Δίκη σβέσσει κρατερὸν Κόρον, Ὑβριος υἱὸν,  
 δεινὸν μαιμώνοντα, δοκεῦντ' ἄν' ἀπάντα πιθέσθαι.  
 Χαλκὸς γὰρ χαλκῷ συμμίζεται, αἵματι δ' Ἄρης  
 πόντον φοινίζει. τότε ἐλεύθερον Ἑλλάδος ἡμάρ  
 εὐρύοπα Κρονίδης ἐπάγει καὶ πότνια Νίκη. 10

ἐς τοιαῦτα μὲν καὶ οὕτω ἐναργέως λέγοντι Βάκιδι  
 ἀντιλογίης χρησμῶν πέρι οὔτε αὐτὸς λέγειν τολμῶ  
 οὔτε παρ' ἄλλων ἐνδέκομαι. ||

*During the night the Greek captains, not knowing what  
 had happened, were still angrily debating, when  
 Aristides arrived from Aegina, bringing word of the  
 Persian movement which he had actually seen.*

LXXVIII. Τῶν δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι στρατηγῶν  
 ἐγένετο ὠθισμὸς <sup>ἐξ</sup> λόγων πολλός. ἤδεσαν δὲ οὐκ ὧς, ὅτι 15  
 σφέας περιεκυκλέοντο τῇσι νηυσὶ οἱ βάρβαροι, ἀλλ'  
 ὥσπερ τῆς ἡμέρης ὥρεον αὐτοὺς τεταγμένους, ἐδόκεον  
 κατὰ χώρην εἶναι. LXXIX. <sup>containing</sup> Συρεστηκοτῶν δὲ τῶν  
 στρατηγῶν ἐξ Αἰγίνης διέβη Ἀριστείδης ὁ Λυσιμά-  
 χου, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος μὲν, ἐξωστρακισμένος δὲ ὑπὸ 20  
 τοῦ δήμου, τὸν ἐγὼ νενόμικα, πυνθανόμενος αὐτοῦ τὸν  
 τρόπον, ἄριστον ἄνδρα γενέσθαι ἐν Ἀθήνησι καὶ  
 δικαιοτάτον. οὗτος ὦν ἡρ στὰς ἐπὶ τὸ συνέδριον ἐξε-  
 καλέετο Θεμιστοκλέα, εὐντα μὲν ἐωυτῷ οὐ φίλον,  
 ἐχθρὸν δὲ τὰ μάλιστα· ὑπὸ δὲ μεγάλθεος τῶν παρεόν- 25  
 των κακῶν λήθην ἐκείνων ποιεύμενος ἐξεκαλέετο,

ἐθέλων αὐτῷ συμμῖξαι. προακηκόες δὲ, ὅτι σπεύ-  
 δοιεν οἱ ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου ἀνάγειν τὰς νέας πρὸς  
 τὸν Ἴσθμόν. ὥς δὲ ἐξηλθέ οἱ Θεμιστοκλῆς, ἔλεγε  
 Ἀριστείδης τάδε· “ Πρώτας στασιάζειν χρεόν ἐστι ἐν  
 5 “ τε τῷ ἄλλῳ καιρῷ καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν τῷδε περὶ τοῦ  
 “ ὁκότερος ἡμέων πλείω ἀγαθὰ τὴν πατρίδα ἐργάσεται.  
 “ λέγω δέ τοι, ὅτι ἴσόν ἐστι πολλά τε καὶ ὀλίγα λέγειν  
 “ περὶ ἀποπλόου τοῦ ἐνθεῦτεν Πελοποννησίοισι. ἐγὼ  
 “ γὰρ αὐτόπτης τοι λέγω γεινόμενος, ὅτι νῦν οὐδ’ ἦν  
 10 “ ἐθέλωσι Κορίνθιοί τε καὶ αὐτὸς Εὐρυβιάδης οἰοί τε  
 “ ἔσονται ἐκπλῶσαι· περιεχόμεθα γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν πολε-  
 “ μίων κύκλῳ. ἀλλ’ ἐσελθὼν σφι ταῦτα σήμηνον.”  
 LXXX. Ὁ δ’ ἀμείβετο τοισίδε· “ Κάρτα τε χρηστὰ  
 “ διακελεύεαι καὶ εὖ ἡγγειλας. τὰ γὰρ ἐγὼ ἐδεόμην  
 15 “ γενέσθαι, αὐτὸς αὐτόπτης γεινόμενος ἦκεις. ἴσθι γὰρ  
 “ ἐξ ἐμέο τὰ ποιούμενα ὑπὸ Μήδων. ἔδεε γὰρ, ὅτε οὐκ  
 “ ἐκόντες ἠθελον εἰς μάχην κατίστασθαι οἱ Ἕλληνες,  
 “ ἀέκοντας παραστήσασθαι. σὺ δὲ ἐπεὶ περ ἦκεις  
 “ χρηστὰ ἀπαγγέλλων, αὐτὸς σφι ἡγγειλον. ἦν γὰρ  
 20 “ ἐγὼ αὐτὰ λέγω, δόξω πλάσας λέγειν καὶ οὐ πείσω  
 “ ὥς οὐ ποιεύντων τῶν βαρβάρων ταῦτα. ἀλλὰ σφι  
 “ σήμηνον αὐτὸς παρελθὼν, ὥς ἔχει. ἐπεὰν δὲ σημή-  
 “ νης, ἦν μὲν πείθονται, ταῦτα δὴ τὰ κάλλιστα, ἦν δὲ  
 “ αὐτοῖσι μὴ πιστὰ γένηται, ὁμοῖον ἡμῖν ἔσται. οὐ  
 25 “ γὰρ ἔτι διαδρήσονται, εἴ περ περιεχόμεθα παντα-  
 “ χόθεν, ὥς σὺ λέγεις.”

*Aristeides fails to convince the captains ;*

LXXXI. Ταῦτα ἔλεγε παρελθὼν ὁ Ἀριστείδης,  
 φάμενος ἐξ Αἰγίνης τε ἦκειν καὶ μόγις ἐκπλῶσαι  
 λαθὼν τοὺς ἐπορμέοντας· περιέχεσθαι γὰρ πᾶν τὸ

στρατόπεδον τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ὑπὸ τῶν νεῶν τῶν Ξέρ-  
 ξεω· παραρτέεσθαι τε συνεβούλευε ὡς ἀλεξησομένους.  
 Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἶπας <sup>ἀλλήλους</sup> μετεστήκεε, τῶν δὲ αὐτὶς  
 ἐγίνετο λόγων ἀμφισβασίη· οἱ γὰρ πλεῖνες τῶν  
 στρατηγῶν οὐκ ἐπείθοντο τὰ ἐξαγγελθέντα. 5

*but his news is confirmed by the arrival of a Tenian  
 trireme which had deserted from the Persian fleet.*

LXXXII. Ἀπιστέοντων δὲ τούτων ἦκε τριήρης  
 ἀνδρῶν Τηνίων αὐτομολέουσα, τῆς ἦρχε ἀνὴρ Παναί-  
 τιος ὁ Σωσιμέneos, ἥ περ δὴ ἔφερε τὴν ἀληθείην  
 πᾶσαν. διὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἐνεγράφησαν Τήνιοι  
 ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐς τὸν τρίποδα ἐν τοῖσι τὸν βάρβαρον 10  
 κατελοῦσι. σὺν δὲ ὧν ταύτῃ τῇ νηὶ τῇ αὐτομολησά-  
 ση ἐς Σαλαμῖνα καὶ τῇ πρότερον ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον τῇ  
 Δημνίῃ ἐξεπληροῦτο τὸ ναυτικὸν τοῖσι Ἑλλησι ἐς 3, 8 + 2  
 τὰς ὀγδῶκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίας νέας· δύο γὰρ δὴ νεῶν 3, 8 + 2  
 τότε κατέδεε ἐς τὸν ἀριθμόν. 15

*The Greeks therefore prepare to fight. Just as they are  
 putting off to sea the Aeacid Heroes arrive.*

LXXXIII. Τοῖσι δὲ Ἑλλησι ὡς πιστὰ δὴ τὰ  
 λεγόμενα ἦν τῶν Τηνίων ῥήματα, παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς  
 ναυμαχήσοντας. ἡὼς τε δὴ διέφαινε, καὶ οἱ σύλλο-  
 γον τῶν ἐπιβατέων ποιησάμενοι, προηγόρευε εὖ ἔχον-  
 τα μὲν ἐκ πάντων Θεμιστοκλῆς, τὰ δὲ ἔπεα ἦν πάντα 20  
 κρέσσω τοῖσι ἔσσοσι ἀντιτιθέμενα. ὅσα δὲ ἐν ἀνθρώ-  
 που φύσι καὶ καταστάσι ἐγγίνεται, παραινέσας δὴ  
 τούτων τὰ κρέσσω αἰρέεσθαι, καὶ καταπλέξας τὴν  
 ῥῆσιν, ἐσβαίνειν ἐκέλευε ἐς τὰς νέας. Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν  
 δὴ ἐσέβαινον, καὶ ἦκε ἡ ἀπ' Αἰγίνης τριήρης, ἡ κατὰ 25



τοὺς Αἰακίδας ἀπεδήμησε. ἐνθαῦτα ἀνῆγον τὰς νέας ἀπάσας οἱ Ἕλληνες.

*The fight. It is begun by the Athenian Ameinias charging and grappling a ship of the enemy. Both sides come to the rescue and the battle becomes general.*

LXXXIV. Ἀναγομένοισι δέ σφι αὐτίκα ἐπέκε-  
 ατο οἱ βάρβαροι. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες [ἐπὶ]  
 5 πρύμνην ἀνεκρούοντο καὶ ὤκελλον τὰς νέας, Ἀμεινίης  
 δὲ Παλληγεὺς ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος ἐξαναχθεὶς νηὶ ἐμβάλ-  
 λει. συμπλακείσης δὲ τῆς νεὸς καὶ οὐ δυναμένων  
 ἀπαλλαγῆναι, οὕτω δὴ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀμεινίῃ βοηθέοντες  
 συνέμισγον. Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν οὕτω λέγουσι τῆς ναυ-  
 10 μαχίης γενέσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν, Αἰγινήται δὲ τὴν κατὰ  
 τοὺς Αἰακίδας ἀποδημήσασαν ἐς Αἶγιναν, ταύτην  
 εἶναι τὴν ἄρξασαν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε, ὡς φάσμα  
 σφι γυναικὸς ἐφάνη, φανείσαν δὲ διακελεύσασθαι  
 ὥστε καὶ ἄπαν ἀκοῦσαι τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατόπε-  
 15 δον ὀνειδίσασαν πρότερον τάδε· “ὦ δαιμόνιοι, μέχρι  
 “κόσου ἔτι πρύμνην ἀνακρούεσθε;” LXXXV. Κατὰ  
 μὲν δὴ Ἀθηναίους ἐτετάχατο Φοίνικες (οἷτοι γὰρ  
 εἶχον τὸ πρὸς Ἐλευσῖνός τε καὶ ἐσπέρης κέρας) κατὰ  
 δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους Ἴωνες· οὗτοι δ’ εἶχον τὸ πρὸς τὴν  
 20 ἡῶ τε καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ. ἰθελοκάκεον μέντοι αὐτῶν  
 2 κατὰ τὰς Θεμιστοκλέος ἐντολὰς ὀλίγοι, οἱ δὲ πλεῖνες  
 οὐ. ἔχω μὲν νυν συχῶν οὐνόματα τριηράρχων  
 καταλέξαι τῶν νέας Ἑλληνίδας ἐλόντων, χρήσομαι  
 δὲ αὐτοῖσι οὐδὲν πλὴν Θεομήστορός τε τοῦ Ἀνδρο-  
 25 δάμαντος καὶ Φυλάκου τοῦ Ἰστιαίου, Σαμίων ἀμφο-  
 τέρων. τοῦδε δὲ εἵνεκεν μέμνημαι τούτων μούνων,  
 ὅτι Θεομήστωρ μὲν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον Σάμου ἐτυ-



*ingressive*  
 ραννευσε καταστησάντων τῶν Περσέων, Φύλακος δὲ  
 εὐεργέτης βασιλέος ἀνεγράφη καὶ χώρῃ οἱ ἐδωρήθη  
 πολλή. οἱ δ' εὐεργέται βασιλέος ὀροσάγγαι καλέ-  
 ονται Περσιστί. LXXXVI. Περί μὲν νυν τούτους  
 οὕτω εἶχε, τὸ δὲ πλήθος τῶν νεῶν ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνι 5  
 ἐκεραΐζετο, αἱ μὲν ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων διαφθειρόμεναι, αἱ  
 δὲ ὑπὸ Αἰγινητέων. ἅτε γὰρ τῶν μὲν Ἑλλήνων σὺν  
 κόσμῳ ναυμαχεόντων κατὰ τάξιν, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων  
 οὐ τεταγμένων ἔτι οὔτε σὺν νόῳ ποιεόντων οὐδέν,  
 ἔμελλε τοιοῦτό σφι συνοίσεσθαι, οἷόν περ ἀπέβη. 10  
 καίτοι ἡσάν γε καὶ ἐγένοντο ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην  
 μακρῷ ἀμείνονες αὐτοὶ ἐωυτῶν ἢ πρὸς Εὐβοίῃ, πᾶς  
 τις προθυμεόμενος καὶ δειμαίνων Ξέρξην, ἐδόκεε τε  
 ἕκαστος ἐωυτὸν θηήσεσθαι βασιλέα.

*A gallant feat of Queen Artemisia.*

LXXXVII. Κατὰ μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἄλλους οὐκ ἔχω 15  
 μετεξετέρους εἰπεῖν ἀτρεκέως ὥς ἕκαστοι τῶν βαρ-  
 βάρων ἢ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγωνίζοντο, κατὰ δὲ Ἀρτε-  
 μισίην τάδε ἐγένετο, ἀπ' ὧν εὐδοκίμησε μᾶλλον ἔτι  
 παρὰ βασιλεῖ· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐς θόρυβον πολλὸν ἀπί-  
 κετο τὰ βασιλέος πρήγματα, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἢ 20  
 νηὺς ἢ Ἀρτεμισίης ἐδιώκετο ὑπὸ νεὸς Ἀττικῆς· καὶ  
 ἢ οὐκ ἔχουσα διαφυγεῖν, ἔμπροσθε γὰρ αὐτῆς ἦσαν  
 ἄλλαι νέες φίλλαι, ἢ δὲ αὐτῆς πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων  
 μάλιστα ἐτύγχανε εὐῶσα, ἔδοξε οἱ τότε ποιῆσαι, τὸ  
 καὶ συνήνεικε ποιησάσῃ· διωκομένη γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς 25  
 Ἀττικῆς φέρουσα ἐνέβαλε νηὶ φιλήν ἀνδρῶν τε  
 Καλυνδέων καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπιπλώοντος τοῦ Καλυνδέων  
 βασιλέος Δαμασιθύμου. εἰ μὲν καί τι νεῖκος πρὸς  
 αὐτὸν ἐγεγίνεε ἔτι περὶ Ἑλλήσποντον ἑόντων, οὐ

μέντοι ἔγωγε ἔχω εἰπεῖν, οὔτε εἰ ἐκ προνοίας αὐτὰ  
 ἐποίησε, οὔτε εἰ συνεκύρησε ἢ τῶν Καλυνδέων κατὰ  
 τύχην παραπесоῦσα νηῦς. ὥς δὲ ἐνέβαλλέ τε καὶ  
 κατέδυσε, εὐτυχίῃ χρησαμένη διπλόα ἐωυτὴν ἀγαθὰ  
 5 ἐργάσατο· ὃ τε γὰρ τῆς Ἀττικῆς νεὸς τριήραρχος ὥς  
 εἶδέ μιν ἐμβάλλουσιν νηὶ ἀνδρῶν βαρβάρων, νομίσας  
 τὴν νέα τὴν Ἀρτεμισίης ἢ Ἑλληνίδα εἶναι ἢ αὐτο-  
 μολλεῖν ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἀμύνειν, ἀπο-  
 στρέψας πρὸς ἄλλας ἐτράπετο. LXXXVIII. Τοῦτο  
 10 μιν τοιοῦτο αὐτῇ συνήνεικε γενέσθαι διαφυγεῖν τε καὶ  
 μὴ ἀπολέσθαι, τοῦτο δὲ συνέβη ὥστε κακὸν ἐργασα-  
 μένην ἀπὸ τούτων αὐτὴν μάλιστα εὐδοκιμῆσαι παρὰ  
 Ξέρξῃ. λέγεται γὰρ βασιλία θεύμενον μαθεῖν τὴν  
 νέα ἐμβαλοῦσαν καὶ δὴ τινα εἶπαι τῶν παρέοντων·  
 15 “ Δέσποτα, ὁρᾷς Ἀρτεμισίην, ὥς εὖ ἀγωνίζεται καὶ νέα  
 “ τῶν πολεμίων κατέδυσε;” Καὶ τὸν ἐπείρεσθαι, εἰ  
 ἀληθέως ἐστὶ Ἀρτεμισίης τὸ ἔργον, καὶ τοὺς φάναι  
 σαφέως τὸ ἐπίσημον τῆς νεὸς ἐπισταμένους· τὴν δὲ  
 διαβαραεῖσαν ἠπιστέατο εἶναι πολεμίνην. τὰ τε γὰρ  
 20 ἄλλα, ὥς εἴρηται, αὐτῇ συνήνεικεν ἐς εὐτυχίην γενό-  
 μενα καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Καλυνδικῆς νεὸς μηδένα  
 ἀποσωθέντα κατήγορον γενέσθαι. Ξέρξην δὲ εἶπαι  
 λέγεται πρὸς τὰ φραζόμενα· “ Οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες γεγό-  
 “ νασί μοι γυναῖκες, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἄνδρες.” Ταῦτα  
 25 μὲν Ξέρξην φασὶ εἶπαι.

*The losses of either side.*

LXXXIX. Ἐν δὲ τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ ἀπὸ μὲν ἔθανε  
 ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἀριαβίγνης ὁ Δαρείου, Ξέρξεω ἐὼν  
 ἀδελφεὸς, ἀπὸ δὲ ἄλλοι πολλοί τε καὶ οὐνομαστοὶ  
 Ἱερσέων καὶ Μήδων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων,

ὀλίγοι δέ τινες καὶ Ἑλλήνων. ἅτε γὰρ νέειν ἐπιστάμενοι, τοῖσι αἱ νέες διεφθείροντο, καὶ μὴ ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ ἀπολλύμενοι ἐς τὴν Σαλαμίνα διένεον. τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων οἱ πολλοὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ διεφθάρησαν, νέειν οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ αἱ πρῶται ἐς 5 φυγὴν ἐτράποντο, ἐνθαῦτα αἱ πλείσται διεφθείροντο. οἱ γὰρ ὅπισθε τεταγμένοι, ἐς τὸ πρόσθε τῇσι νηυσὶ παριέναι πειρώμενοι ὡς ἀποδεξόμενοί τι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔργον βασιλείῃ, τῇσι σφετέρῃσι νηυσὶ φευγούσῃσι περιέπιπτον.

10

*Certain Phoenicians accuse the Ionians of treason, but are themselves executed. Xerxes watches the fight.*

XC. Ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ τότε ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ τούτῳ τῶν τινὲς Φοινίκων, τῶν αἱ νέες διεφθάρησαν, ἐλθόντες παρὰ βασιλέα διέβαλλον τοὺς Ἴωνας, ὡς δι' ἐκείνους ἀπολοῖατο αἱ νέες, ὡς προδόντων. συνήνεκε ὧν οὕτω ὥστε Ἴωνων τε τοὺς στρατηγούς μὴ ἀπολέσθαι, Φοι- 15 νίκων τε τοὺς διαβάλλοντας λαβεῖν τοιόνδε μισθόν· ἔτι τούτων ταῦτα λεγόντων ἐνέβαλε νηὶ Ἀττικῇ Σαμοθρηϊκῇ νηὺς. ἥ τε δὴ Ἀττικὴ κατεδύετο, καὶ ἐπιφερομένη Αἰγίναίῃ νηὺς κατέδυσε τῶν Σαμοθρηϊκῶν τὴν νέα. ἅτε δὴ ἔοντες ἀκοντισταὶ οἱ Σαμο- 20 θρηϊκὲς τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ἀπὸ τῆς καταδυσάσης νεὸς βάλλοντες ἀπήραξαν καὶ ἐπέβησάν τε καὶ ἔσχον αὐτήν. ταῦτα γενόμενα τοὺς Ἴωνας ἐρρύσατο· ὡς γὰρ εἶδε σφεας Ξέρξης ἔργον μέγα ἐργασαμένους, ἐτράπετο πρὸς τοὺς Φοίνικας οἷα ὑπερλυπεόμενός 25 τε καὶ πάντας αἰτιώμενος, καὶ σφεων ἐκέλευσε τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀποταμεῖν, ἵνα μὴ αὐτοὶ κακοὶ γενόμενοι τοὺς ἀμείνονας διαβάλλωσι. ὅκως γάρ τινα ἴδοι

Ξέρξης τῶν ἐωυτοῦ ἔργον τι ἀποδεικνύμενον ἐν τῇ  
ναυμαχίῃ, κατήμενος ὑπὸ τῷ οὔρεϊ τῷ ἀντίον Σαλα-  
μίνος, τὸ καλέεται Λιγιάλεως, ἀνεπυθάνετο τὸν ποιή-  
σαντα, καὶ οἱ γραμματισταὶ ἀνέγραφον πατρώθεν τὸν  
5 τριήραρχον καὶ τὴν πόλιν. πρὸς δέ τι καὶ προσε-  
βάλετο φίλος ἐὼν Ἀριαράμνης ἀνὴρ Πέρσης παρεὼν  
τούτου τοῦ Φοινικηίου πάθεος.

## NOTES.

[For persons and names of places see *Historical and Geographical Index*. G. refers to Goodwin's *Greek Grammar*, 1882. App. to the *Appendix on the Ionic Dialect*. Clyde to Clyde's *Greek Syntax*, 1870.]

### CHAPTER I.

The last book (VII) had described the fate of the contingent appointed to serve on land and guard Thermopylae; Herodotus now turns to the fleet.

1, 2. οἱ δὲ...ταχθέντες 'those whose assigned duty it was to serve 1 afloat', that is assigned by their several states: cp. 7, 21 οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸν πρὸν ἐτετάχατο. The general movements both of land force and fleet were directed by the national congress assembled in the Isthmus (7, 175).

4. Πλαταιῆς. The Plataeans as an inland state without seaboard would have no ships; but they constantly followed and supported the Athenians as at Marathon (6, 108, 111). They were not however actually engaged at Salamis, see c. 44; though they afterwards pleaded their services at Artemisium as a proof of their Hellenic patriotism, see Thucyd. 3, 54, 3.

5. Κορίνθιοι. That the Corinthians should only send 40 ships when the Athenians sent 127 is a striking sign of the rapid advance of the latter. In B.C. 491 the Athenians had had to borrow, or rather purchase at a nominal price, 20 ships of Corinth wherewith to attack Aegina [6, 88, 89].

7. Χαλκιδέες. The Chalcidians manned Athenian ships probably because they were Athenians settled as cleruchs in the territory of Chalcis in Euboea [see 5, 77].

11, 12. δύο τε νέας καὶ πεντηκοντέρους δύο 'two triremes and two penteconters'. By νέες unqualified by any descriptive epithet understand triremes, or ships of war, ταχέαι: other triremes are called ὀπλιταγωγοί, ἱππαγωγοί etc. Penteconters were smaller vessels rowed by 50 men, 25 on each side sitting on the same level. The latter were the vessels almost universal in Greece until the decennium B.C. 490—80, when they were superseded by the triremes [Her. 1, 163, 4, Thucyd. 1, 14, 4]. The use of penteconters however still survived among more distant Greek states, as Rhodes [Thucyd. 6, 43, 1], as also among the Etruscans [id. 6, 103, 2]. The triremes carried an average of 200 men, see c. 17.

13. Ὀπούντιοι, see Hist. Ind. s. v. Locrians.

ἐπεβοήθειον, App. A. III. 8.

## CHAPTER II.

15. εἴρηται δέ μοι, that is in the preceding chapter. The numbers are:

Athenians	127	ships
Corinthians	40	"
Megarians	20	"
Chalcidians	20	"
Aeginetans	18	"
Sicyonians	12	"
Lacedaemonians	10	"
Epidaurians	8	"
Eretrians	7	"
Troezenians	5	"
Styrans	2	"
Ceians	2	"
<hr/>		
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16. τῶν συλλεχθεισῶν νεῶν, that is 'of triremes', as above, l. 11.

20. οἱ σύμμαχοι, the members of the congress of the Isthmus, see above, l. 2.

2 1, 2. οὐκ ἔφασαν...ἔψισθαι 'refused to serve under Athenians but would only do so if the Spartan leader took the command'.

Two clauses are compressed into one, οὐκ ἔφασαν ἔψεσθαι Ἀθηναίοις and ἔφασαν ἔψεσθαι μόνῳ τῷ Λάκωνι. Notice Ἀθηναίοις without article 'Athenians' = 'an Athenian commander', not the particular one.

2. ἀλλὰ λύσειν = ἀλλὰ ἔφασαν λύσειν.

τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι 'which was about to take place'. The verb μέλλειν is regularly followed by the future infinitive and sometimes by the present, but not by the aorist infinitive, G. § 202, 3. Yet exceptions to this rule occasionally occur [see Rutherford *Novo Phrygichus* p. 420 sq.].

### CHAPTER III.

4. κατ' ἀρχῆς 'originally', 'at first', cp. 9, 22. λόγος 'common talk'. πρὶν ἢ πέμπειν 'before they (the Greeks) sent'.

5. ἐπὶ συμμαχίην 'with a view of securing an alliance'. This refers to the embassy sent by the congress of the Isthmus to Gelo of Syracuse to induce him to join the alliance against the Persian invaders. In the discussion with Gelo the Spartans claimed the lead on land, the Athenians at sea, and Gelo refused help unless one or the other were conceded to him. Her. 7, 157—9.

7. μέγα πεποιημένοι 'because they regarded it as of first importance'. This use of ποιῆσθαι [of which πεποιημένος is used as middle perf. part.] is common in Herod. see p. 6, l. 7, and cp. 9, 4 δεινὸν ποιησάμενοι. περιεῖναι 'survive', 'be saved'. Cp. p. 30, l. 15.

9—11. ὀρθὰ νοεῖντες 'and their sentiments were entirely right'.

πολέμου ὁμοφρονέοντος 'unanimous war', i.e. 'the war of a united country', an expression only justifiable by considering war to be personified. τοσούτῳ... ὅσῳ 'precisely as much worse as'.

12. οὐκ ἀντέτεινον 'they did not continue to make any counter-claim'.

13. μέχρι ὅσου 'as long as they (the Athenians) wanted them', i.e. the other Greeks. Cp. μέχρι κόσου p. 44, l. 15.

14, 15. περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου... ἐπόλευντο 'they were going to attack the Persian's own territory'. Cp. p. 14, l. 14.

15, 16. τὴν Πανσανίῳ ὕβριν 'the outrageous conduct of Pausanias'. Thucydides says he was βίαιος and that his mode of behaviour was a τυραννίδος μίμησις rather than a στρατηγία [1, 95]. And Plutarch [Aristid. 23] gives details of the roughness of his manners, the severity of his punishments, and the offensiveness of his manner of asserting the Spartan primacy.



ἀπείλοντο...Λακεδαιμονίους 'deprived the Lacedaemonians of the command'; for the double acc. see G. § 164.

The event referred to is the deposition of Pausanias in B.C. 478—7, and the selection of Aristides to take the command of the allied fleet in the Northern Aegean, which is recounted by Thucydides [1, 94 sq.], and which led to the formation of the Confederacy of Delos.

## CHAPTER IV.

18. τότε δὲ 'but at this time', opp. to ἕστερον μὲν l. 17. καὶ 'actually'.

19. καταχθείσας 'brought to land'.

21. παρὰ δόξαν...ἢ 'in an unexpectedly different manner than'. The phrase παρὰ δόξαν involves the idea of ἄλλως and is therefore followed by ἢ. Cp. 1, 79 ὡς οἱ παρὰ δόξαν ἔσχε τὰ πρήγματα ἢ ὡς αὐτὸς κατεδόκει.

22. Notice the imperfect ἀπέβαινε 'were turning out'. κατεδόκειον, see p. 36, l. 22.

23. ἔσω, that is, South of the Euripus, towards the Peloponnesus, p. 10, l. 6.

3 2, 3. ἔστ' ἂν...ὑπεκθέωνται 'until they should have removed out of danger'. The construction represents the words used προσμεινον ἔστ' ἂν ὑπεκθεώμεθα, and is retained in Orat. Obliq. G. § 239, 2.

4. πείθουσι 'bribe'.

5. ἐπ' ᾧ τε 'on condition that'. For τε see on p. 10, l. 9.

6. πρὸ τῆς Εὐβοίης, that is, to the North of Euboea, in which direction the enemy were. Cp. p. 39, l. 9 and 9, 61 πρὸ τῆς πόλιος.

ποιήσονται, the infin. more commonly follows ἐπ' ᾧ τε, but the future indic. is also used *dramatically*. G. § 236, note 2. τὴν ναυμαχίην 'the sea-fight', that is the fight which must inevitably come somewhere.

## CHAPTER V.

9. ὡς παρ' ἑωυτοῦ δῆθεν 'as though out of his own pocket (*de suo*) as he pretended'. For παρ' ἑωυτοῦ cp. 2, 129 παρ' ἑωυτοῦ δίδοντα. Cp. 7, 29 παρ' ἑμυνοῦ δοὺς τὰς ἐπτὰ χιλιάδας. And for δῆθεν indicating the falseness of a pretext see 7, 211 φεύγεσκον δῆθεν 'they kept pretending to run away'; and combined with

ὡς, 9, 66 ὡς ἐς μάχην ἤγε δῆθεν 'he made a feint of leading them to the field'.

11. ἥσπαιρε 'struggled', properly 'panted', see I, III ὀρέω παιδίον προκείμενον ἀσπαῖρόν τε καὶ κραγανόμενον. 9, 120 ἥσπαιρον ὅκως περ ἰχθύες νεοάλωτοι. Very rarely found in Attic.

12. ἀποπλῶσσεσθαι from ἀποπλῶ, Ionic and poetic form of -πλέω. [This form is used by the MSS. R and S, and I have retained it throughout, but in certain other MSS. the form is πλεύσεσθαι, πλέειν, πλέομεν κ.τ.λ. and Stein has adopted the latter.]

13. πρὸς δὴ τοῦτον 'to him he said'; the reason for the speech has been previously given by the clause 'Ἀδείμαντος γὰρ. The logical order would be πρὸς Ἀδείμαντον εἶπε, οὗτος γὰρ ἥσπαιρε.

15, 16. ἂν πέμψει 'will be likely to send you'. The plan of sending bribes round to the leading men in each state by the king of Persia is alluded to again in 9, 2, and 41; and we know from later authorities (Demosth. Phil. 3, 42) that it was actually done.

16. ταῦτά τε ἅμα ἡγόρευε καὶ πέμπει. The verb πέμπει is an historical present: 'He accompanied this speech by sending three talents to the ship of Adeimantus'. [For this use of τε—καὶ as expressing simultaneous action see on p. 28, l. 9.]

Plutarch, on the authority of the Lesbian Phantias, tells a story of Themistocles bribing an Athenian captain with one talent to stay at Artemisium [Themist. 7], but there is no reason why both stories may not be true.

18. πάντες 'both', cp. 5, 36; 6, 77 St. [Some few MSS. have πληγέντες with which Abicht compares Plutarch Demosth. 15 πληγὴς ὑπὸ τῆς δωροδοκίας.]

19. ἐκεχάριστο is middle: 'And thus Themistocles had gratified the Euboeans while he secured a profit for himself at the same time'.

20—23. ἐλάνθανε δὲ... χρήματα 'and at the same time he was not suspected of having the balance of the money (the 30 talents, see c. 4), but the men who got their share of it believed that the money had been sent from Athens for this express purpose'.

21. ἠπιστάτο [App. D. II. a] 'believed', 'were given to understand'. Cp. p. 13, l. 22; p. 46, l. 19. We use the word to 'understand' in the same sense of 'belief'.

## CHAPTER VI.

24. οὕτω δὴ 'it was thus', 'it was in these circumstances that'.

25. ἐγένετο δὲ ᾧδε 'and how it came about was thus', i.e. how the battle began and how it was carried on.

26. περὶ δαίλην πρωτὴν 'early in the afternoon', opposed to δαίλην ὀψίην p. 5, l. 19.

27. ἔτι καὶ πρότερον 'already before this', cp. p. 36, l. 20.

4 1. αὐτοὶ 'with their own eyes'. ἐπιχειρεῖν sc. εἰλεῖν. Cp. 9, 14 θέλων εἰ πως τοὺτους πρώτον ἔλοι.

2. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς ἀντίης 'straight down upon them', *ex adverso*. Cf. ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ (9, 1), ἐκ τῆς ἰθέης (9, 37).

4, 5. ὀρμήσειαν...καταλαμβάνη. The coming down of night before they could get engaged is perhaps the contingency most present to their minds, but as the subj. after a past tense in the governing clause is as correct as the opt., on the *dramatic* principle of introducing the exact words of the person, the variation does not perhaps admit of any other explanation than the taste of the writer. For καταλαμβάνειν in this sense 9, 56 τοὺς δὲ ἐπεὶ ἥως καταλάμβανε.

5, 6. καὶ ἔμελλον δῆθεν ἐκφεύξεσθαι 'and then, as they thought, they were certain to escape'. For fut. inf. after ἔμελλον see above, p. 2, l. 2. The meaning of ἔμελλον here expressing certainty is found in common idiomatic phrases, such as, ἐμέλλετ' ἄρ' ἅπαντες ἀνασελεῖν βοὴν 'I was certain you would shout', Arist. Ach. 347; ἔμελλον σ' ἄρα κινήσειν ἐγὼ 'I was certain I should send you packing', id. Nub. 1301; ἄρ' ἐμέλλομέν ποθ' ὑμᾶς ἀποσοβήσειν τῷ χρόνῳ 'I was certain we should drive you off in time', id. Vesp. 464.

δῆθεν indicates the thoughts of another, which the writer discredits, see above, p. 3, l. 9.

6. μηδὲ πυρφόρον 'not even a sacred-fire bearer', i.e. not any one at all. The πυρφόρος would be defended as long as anyone survived. Hence the phrase for total extinction. From Xenophon (Rep. Lac. XIII. 3) we learn that a lamp of sacred fire was carried with a Spartan host never to be extinguished. The person intrusted with this would be most carefully guarded.

6, 7. τῷ ἐκείνων λόγῳ 'according to their expressed purpose'.

## CHAPTER VII.

7. πρὸς ταῦτα 'with a view to these contingencies'.

9. ἔξωθεν Σκιάθου 'to the East of Skiathos'. So as to have Skiathos between them and the Greeks.

10—12. ἵνα δὴ περιλάβοιεν 'that, as they intended (δὴ), they might enclose them'. Here the main purpose is expressed by the optative, while a secondary or subordinate purpose is expressed by a subjunctive clause (ὥς ἂν μὴ ὀφθέωσι 'in such a way that they might not be seen'), but see on l. 4 and cp. p. 40, ll. 13—15, Goodw. *M. and T.* § 44. 2. For δὴ almost equivalent to δῆθεν, shewing that the writer is representing the thoughts of others, see 9, 11 ἐν νόῳ δὴ ἔχοντες. 9, 59 ἦγε...κατὰ στίβον τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὥς δὴ ἀποδιδρυσκόντων, *infra* p. 42, l. 25.

For the dramatic construction ὥς ἂν μὴ ὀφθέωσι after the historical περιέπεμπον cp. 9, 7 ἐκέλευσαν ὑμέας ἐκπέμπειν ὥς ἂν τὸν βάρβαρον δεκώμεθα. G. § 216, 2.

12—14. οἱ μὲν...σφεῖς δὲ. The party despatched round Euboea, and the main body remaining at Aphetae.

13. τὴν ὀπίσω φέρουσιν ὁδὸν 'their homeward course'.

14. ἐξ ἐναντίας 'from the opposite side', cp. ἐξ ἀντίας c. 6.

16. ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας 'that day', the gen. of time within which. G. § 179.

17. τὸ σύνθημα 'the signal agreed upon', used of a 'watch-word' in 9, 98. ἔμελλε φανήσεσθαι 'could appear', referring to the time it must necessarily take to get round the island. For ἔμελλε see p. 2, l. 2.

20. ἐποιεῦντο ἀριθμὸν 'held a muster of', cp. 7, 59. This was rendered necessary, as Stein observes, by the losses sustained by bad weather and attacks of enemies; see 7, 190, where 400 ships are said to have been lost on the coast of Magnesia.

## CHAPTER VIII.

24, 25. τῇ ναυαγίῃ τῇ κατὰ τὸ Πήλιον γενομένῃ 'the shipwreck which had befallen them off Pelion', that mentioned in the last note.

26, 27. περιεβάλετο 'possessed himself of', cp. 6, 25 πόλιν καλλίστην Ζάγκλην περιεβεβλέατο, see 9, 39. ἄρα 'as it appears', i.e. from what he did afterwards.

28. **αὐτομολήσιν**: notice the fut. inf. after *ἐν νόῳ εἶχε* on the analogy of the construction of *μέλλω*. The futurity implied in *ἐν νόῳ εἶχε* is expressed in the infinitive.

**ἀλλ' οὐ γάρ** 'but he [didn't do so then] for there was no opportunity', so we often find *καὶ οὐ γάρ* 9, 61, 87 etc. The negative belongs to the prevented action, *γάρ* introduces the cause of the prevention.

- 5 1. **πάρεσχε**, impers. p. 39, l. 27. Cp. Thucyd. 1, 120, 5; 5, 14, 2.

**ὥς τότε** 'at that time'. The meaning of *ὥς* here is hard to give by any English equivalent; it defines and limits the time indicated by *τότε*. Cobet proposes *ἕως τότε* 'up to that time'.

**ὅτεω δὴ τρόπῳ** 'now in what manner it actually happened'. *δὴ* here, like Lat. *idēo*, emphasizes and defines the word which it follows. **ἔτι** 'after all', that is after whatever attempts or exploits.

3, 4. **λέγεται γάρ**. The feat here mentioned is of course an impossible one, and is naturally disbelieved by Herodotus. The distance from Aphetae to Artemisium is about seven miles. It is possible perhaps that Skyllias made his way over this strait by swimming and diving at intervals. The natives of the Levant to this day are famous divers [Col. Leake quoted by Rawl.], and much greater distances have been swum in our own time.

5. **ἀνέσχε** 'came up to the surface'. *ἔχω* with its compounds is as often neuter as transitive. Abicht notices that in Odys. 5, 320 *ἀνασχεθέειν* used in this sense is explained by the Scholiast by *ἀναδύναι*.

8. **μετεξέτερα** = *ἔνια*. A word confined to the Ionic dialect. p. 45, l. 16.

9. **ἀποδεδέχθω** [*δεῖκνυμι*], App. E.

## CHAPTER IX.

14, 15. **λόγον σφίσι αὐτοῖσι ἔδιδον** 'took counsel among themselves', cp. 1, 97 *συλλέχθησαν οἱ Μῆδοι ἐς τῷτο καὶ ἐδίδον σφίσι λόγον*. Xen. Hell. 1, 1, 27 *εἰ δὲ ἐπικαλοῖται τι αὐτοῖς λόγον ἔφασαν χρῆναι δίδοναι* 'to discuss the matter'. Arist. Plut. 467 *περὶ τούτου σφῶν ἐθέλω δοῦναι λόγον* 'to argue the matter with you'.

15. **ἐνίκα** 'the decision was come to', 'the vote was passed'. For this impersonal use of *νικᾶν* see Soph. Antig. 233 *τέλος δὲ μὲν τοι δεῦρ' ἐνίκησεν μολεῖν*; and again Her. 6, 101 *ἐνίκα μὴ ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν*. A commoner usage is *νικᾶν γνώμην* 'to get one's view carried' [e.g. 1, 61].

16. **αὐλισθέντας** 'having encamped for the night'. Stein rightly explains that this refers to the camp on shore, where they were to pass the night that the enemy might not be led to expect any unusual movement by seeing them spend the night on board.

17. **παρέντας** 'letting pass'.

18, 19. **μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο** 'but subsequently', i.e. on the same day as the Council. **δείλην ὀψίην** 'evening', opposed to *δείλην πρωτὴν* 'afternoon' in c. 6.

20. **αὐτοὶ *ultro*** 'without being attacked', 'on their own account'. **ἐπανεπλῶν**, notice the imperf. 'began putting to sea to attack'.

21, 22. **ἀπόπειραν—διεκπλόου** 'wishing to satisfy themselves as to the nature of their fighting and naval tactics'. *αὐτῶν* depends upon *μάχης*. The force of *ἀπόπειρα* as opposed to *πείρα*, like that of *ἀποπειρᾶσθαι*, is that of completion or satisfaction. See 2, 73; 3, 128; 9, 91. The *διέκπλος* was a manoeuvre in naval warfare by which a single line of ships broke through the enemies' line, turned swiftly, and charged as they pleased, opposed to the ruder method of grappling and fighting from the decks. See 6, 12 where Dionysius is described as training the Ionian sailors, *ὁ δὲ ἀνάγων ἐκάστοτε ἐπὶ κέρας* ('in line') *τὰς νέας, ὅκως τοῖσι ἐρέτῃσι χρήσαιο διέκπλουν ποιεύμενος τῇσι νηυσὶ δι' ἀλληλέων καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ὀπλίσσειε....*

The manoeuvre required both swiftness and skill in working the vessel, so as to avoid charging prow to prow, and being charged on one's own broadside. See Thucyd. 1, 49, 3 *διέκπλοι δ' οὐκ ἦσαν, ἀλλὰ θυμῷ καὶ ῥώμῃ τὸ πλέον ἐνανυμάχουν ἢ ἐπιστήμῃ*. The Athenians especially prided themselves on their skill in practising this manoeuvre, as well as another called the *περίπλους*, out-flanking the enemies' ship and charging it as one pleased,—see Thucyd. 7, 36, 3 *τοῖς δὲ Ἀθηναίοις οὐκ ἔσσεσθαι σφῶν ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ οὔτε περίπλουν οὔτε διέκπλουν, ὥπερ τῇς τέχνης μάλιστα ἐπίστευον*.



## CHAPTER X.

25. **μανίνην ἐπενείκαντες** [for the Ion. *-ενείκας* see App. E] 'thinking them mad'. Cp. 1, 131 *τοῖσι ἀγέλατα ποιεύσι μωρίην ἐπιφέρουσι*. 6, 112 *τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι μανίνην ἐπέφερον*.
- 6 2. **οἰκότα** [Ion. for *εἰκότα* App. E. f] 'what was reasonable and likely'.
3. **πολλαπλησίας**, App. A. II. (2).
- 4, 5. **καταφρονήσαντες ταῦτα** 'with these convictions': *καταφρονέω* in the common meaning of 'to despise' takes a genitive and is used by Herod. in 4, 134 [*and there only*, Abicht]. In the sense in which it is here employed it is only a strengthened form of *φρονήσαντες*, cp. 1, 66, and *καταδοκεῖν* in c. 4.
5. **ἐκυκλοῦντο...μέσον** [App. D. III. 3] 'began a movement to outflank them and get them within the circle of their ships'. *ἐς μέσον* is proleptic, 'so as to get them in the middle'.
7. **συμφορὴν τε...μεγάλην** 'were exceedingly sorry for them', cp. p. 36, l. 13.
8. **ἐπιστάμενοι** 'feeling persuaded', cp. p. 3, l. 21.
11. **ἄμλληαν ἐποιεῦντο** 'raced with each other', cp. 7, 196.
12. **δῶρα**. For the practice of giving rewards by the Persian king to those successful in war see Xen. Oecon. 4, 16.
- For *λάμπεται* see App. E. II. 2. For the tense after *ὅπως* see G. § 217.
13. **λόγος** 'reputation', see 9, 78.

## CHAPTER XI.

15. **ἐσήμηνε** sc. *ὁ σάλπιγκτής*. For the use of the *σάλπιγξ* see Aeschyl. Persae 397 *σάλπιγξ δ' αὐτῇ πάντ' ἐκείν' ἐπέφλεγεν*, Thucyd. 6, 32, 1 *τῇ σάλπιγγι σιωπῇ ὑπείσθησαν*.
16. **ἐς τὸ μέσον τὰς πρύμνας συνήγαγον** 'drew their stems together at a central point'. This manoeuvre, by which the ships were arranged so as to resemble an open fan, was for the purpose of preventing the enemy from practising the *diekflus*. Thus it was done by the Peloponnesians in the Gulf of Corinth when preparing to receive the attack of the Athenians [B.C. 429], see Thucyd. 2, 83, 5 *οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι ἐτάξαντο κύκλον τῶν νεῶν ὡς μέγιστον· οἳ τ' ἦσαν μὴ διδόντες διέκπλουν, τὰς πῶρας μὲν ἔξω εἶσω δὲ τὰς πρύμνας*.



17. ἔργου εἶχοντο 'they set to work'. ἐν ὀλίγῳ...ἀπολαμφθέντες 'though caught in a narrow part of the Strait', cp. 9, 51 ἐν τῷ Κιθαιρῶνι ἀπολελαμμένοι.

18. καὶ κατὰ στόμα, sc. ἐχόμενοι περ ἔργου (or some equivalent participle) 'and though they were engaged prow to prow', i.e. though they would have no opportunity in the narrow sea of practising the *dickplus* or *períplus*. Abicht however understands εἶχοντο after στόμα 'and they began the attack front to front'. I think the run of the sentence is conclusive in favour of the former construction, which is supported by Stein.

23. τὸ ἀριστηῖον 'the prize of valour', the recipient of which was formally decided upon after a battle, the various achievements and circumstances being fully discussed. See for instance what was done after the battle of Plataea, 9, 71.

27. πολλὸν παρὰ δόξαν ἀγωνισάμενοι 'after a battle the result of which much surprised them', for they had looked for an easy victory, see p. 5, l. 25. For παρὰ δόξαν cp. p. 2, l. 22.

31. χῶρον ἐν Σαλαμῖνι 'a farm in Salamis'.

## CHAPTER XII.

1. εὐφρόνη 'the kindly one', a poetical word for νύξ, both of 7 which Herodotus uses with no apparent distinction. ἦν τῆς ὥρης μέσον θέρος 'it was midsummer', the gen. τῆς ὥρης is partitive, 'of the season it was full midsummer'; which is meant to emphasize the unusual occurrence of such a storm. The time was probably about the beginning of July, for the Olympic festival was going on, see c. 26, cp. 7, 206.

3. ἀπὸ τοῦ Πηλίου 'from the direction of Mt Pelion', that is from the North.

8. ἐς φόβον κατιστέατο 'began to be frightened'. App. D. II. 6. ἐλπίζοντες 'expecting'. ἐς οἶα...ἦκον 'considering the amount of misfortunes into which they had fallen'; explained by the summary of their disasters in the next sentence.

10, 11. τοῦ χειμῶνος...κατὰ Πήλιον, see 7, 188. A storm of East wind caught the Persian fleet when off the shore of Magnesia and drove a large number of ships ashore on the promontory called the Ovens (Ἰπνοί) and other parts of the coast. ὑπέλαβε 'succeeded'. ἐκ 'after'. ῥεύματα 'swollen streams' or 'torrents'.

## CHAPTER XIII.

15. τοῖσι ταχθείσι, see c. 7.

16. πολλὸν, App. C. 1, 2nd Decl. (4). τοσοῦτῳ ὅσῳ 'inso-much as'.

17. ἐν πελάγῃ 'in the open sea', not under cover of headlands or bays.

18—20. ὥς γὰρ δὴ...Εὐβοίης 'for as the storm overtook them when actually sailing, just as they were opposite the Hollows of Euboea'. For the place see Hist. and Geogr. Index s.v. Hollows. τῆς Εὐβοίης is a topographical genitive, cp. 9, 27 τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐν Ἐλευσίνι.

21. ἐξέπιπτον 'were cast ashore'. ἐκπίπτειν is used as a passive of ἐκβάλλειν. Cp. its meaning of 'to be banished' 'to be driven out'. See 6, 121 ὅκως Πεισίστρατος ἐκπέσοι ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνέων.

22. ὅκως ἂν ἐξισωθῇ 'that they might so be reduced to an equality', cp. 9, 22 ὥς ἂν ἀνελοίατο. 9, 51 ὥς ἂν μὴ ἰδοίατο. When a final sentence expresses a conclusion in which another hypothesis is virtually contained ὥς and ὅπως take ἂν, and, after a past tense, an optative. We find also the subjunctive used dramatically with ὥς ἂν after a past tense in 9, 7, see p. 4, l. 10. The hypothesis involved in the present case may be thus expressed, 'That the Persian fleet might be reduced to an equality with the Greek fleet, as it would be *if these ships were lost*'.

## CHAPTER XIV.

8 1. ὥς σφι ἀσμένοισι...ἐπέλαμψε, cp. p. 6, l. 10 ὅσοισι ἡδομένοισι ἦν.

3. σφι ἀπεχρᾶτο impers. 'it sufficed them', 'they were content to'.

6. ἐπέρρωσαν (ῥώννυμι) 'encouraged them'. This verb is somewhat rare. It is used as the opposite of ἐξέπληξε 'dismayed' in Thucyd. 4, 36, 2.

9. τὴν αὐτὴν ὥρην 'the same period of the day', that is the afternoon, as in their former attack, see p. 5, l. 19. ὥρην is not used for a definite division of time like our 'hour', see above p. 7, l. 1 where it means 'season of the year'. It is used here for the larger divisions of the day as morning, noon, afternoon. When Herodotus speaks of the *hours* he says τὰ δώδεκα μέρεα τῆς ἡμέρας 2, 109.

## CHAPTER XV.

13. δεινόν τι ποιησάμενοι 'ashamed', p. 2, l. 7. This phrase expresses any violent emotion of shame or anger or surprise. See 9, 5 and 7, the first of which refers to indignation, the second to shame.

15. τὸ ἀπὸ Ξέρξεω 'what Xerxes would do', thus 9, 7 τὸ ἀπ' ἡμέων = 'our conduct'.

17. παρακελευσάμενοι 'having passed round words of mutual exhortation'. So διακελευσαμένη γυνή γυναικί (9, 5). ἀνήγον 'they began to launch'.

18. συνέπιπτε δὲ ὥστε 'and by a coincidence it so happened that'. Cp. 8, 132 συνέπιπτε τοιοῦτο ὥστε τοὺς μὲν βαρβάρους... μὴ καταπλῶσαι καταρρωδηκότας, τοὺς δὲ Ἕλληνας...κατωτέρω Δίλου (μὴ καταπλῶσαι). Thucyd. 5, 15 συνέβη τε εὐθὺς μετὰ τὴν μάχην... ὥστε πολέμου μηδὲν ἔτι ἄσθαι μηδετέρους.

20. ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι, see 7, 207 sq. The fighting at Thermopylae also extended over three days. On the 1st some Medes and Cissians were beaten back from the pass; on the 2nd a similar attempt was made with no better success; and on the 3rd the path over the mountain having been betrayed to Xerxes, Leonidas and his 300 were surrounded and fell.

2. ὅκως μὴ παρήσουςι. G. § 217.

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## CHAPTER XVI.

6. μνηοειδὲς ποιησάντες 'having formed a crescent with their ships'. μνηοειδὲς is used substantively for μνηοειδὲς σχῆμα. The crescent of ships must have presented its concave to the enemy, the object being that when the Greek fleet was tempted out to attack the centre, the two Persian wings might close round them.

7. ἐκυκλέοντο 'endeavoured to encircle them'. p. 6, l. 5.

8, 9. ἐπανέπλων [see p. 3, l. 11] 'began to sail out to sea to attack them'. The ἀνά has the same sense as in ἀνήγον p. 8, l. 17, and ἐπὶ gives the idea of hostility. παραπλήσιοι 'with no advantage on either side'.

11. αὐτὸς ὑπ' ἑωυτοῦ ἔπιπτε 'was self-destroyed'.

12. περιπιπτουσέων...ἀλλήλας 'fouling each other'.

14. δεινὸν χρῆμα ἐποιεῦντο [App. D. III. d], cp. p. 8, l. 14.

15. *τρέπεσθαι* Ion. for *τρέπεσθαι*, App. A. II. 5.

*πολλὰ μὲν δὴ* 'now it is true that many, etc.'

18. *ἀγωνιζόμενοι*. Stein remarks on the strangeness of the present participle instead of *ἀγωνισάμενοι* 'after contending', and compares 1, 76 *τέλος οὐδέτεροι νικήσαντες διέστησαν νυκτὸς ἐπελθούσης· καὶ τὰ μὲν στρατόπεδα ἀμφοτέρω οὕτω ἡγωνίσαστο*. The present participle here may be explained by the consideration of the unfinished and undecided nature of the conflict, 'So they separated still fighting as I have described', i.e. without the affair being settled by a victory on either side.

## CHAPTER XVII.

21. *αὐτοῖσι ἀνδράσι* 'crews and all', i.e. not after being abandoned by their crew. This dative of accompanying circumstance, or, as it is sometimes called, dative absolute, is very common in Greek writers, especially in this particular phrase. G. § 188, 5. See below l. 25.

24. *δαπάνην οἰκῆϊν παρεχόμενος* 'defraying the expense out of his own resources'. This Clinias was father of the great Alcibiades, and was head of one of the richest families at Athens. This patriotic act of liberality in supplying a ship and crew was perfectly voluntary and must not be connected with the later trierarchies which the rich men were obliged to support; though this and similar acts may have suggested the system. The habit of keeping a private trireme however was maintained by Alcibiades, see Thucyd. 6, 61, 6.

25. *ἀνδράσι διηκοσίοισι*. This dative is similar to that commented upon on l. 21. For the number of 200 men, see on p. 1, l. 11, 12: and 7, 184 *ὡς ἀνὰ διηκοσίους ἀνδρας λογίζομαι ἐν ἐκάστη νηί*.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

10 1. *ἄσμενοι* 'and glad to do so', 'to their great relief'. Cp. Odys. 9, 62 *ἐνθεν δὲ προτέρω πλέομεν ἀκαχήμενοι ἦτορ ἄσμενοι ἐκ θανάτοιο*.

5. *οὐκ ἤκιστα* 'especially'.

6. *δρησμόν δὴ* 'absolutely a retreat', the *δὴ* like *tandem* indicating the outcome or result of previous events. 'They began to consider (and indeed it was time to do so) about retreating'. *ἔσω*, see p. 2, l. 23.

## CHAPTER XIX.

9. οἳ τε εἴησαν ἂν 'they would be able'. For this suffix τε see on 9, 23, and p. 3, l. 5 ἐπ' ᾧ τε. Compare ὅσον τε, ἄτε, ὥστε. 'The force of it is that of an undeclined τις', Monro *Homeric Gr.* § 108. [ἂν is absent from the MSS.]

10. ἐλαυνόντων...ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν 'as the Euboeans were driving their sheep down to the sea'; that is, in order to transport them to a place of safety in accordance with their agreement with Themistocles, see cc. 4, 5. They apparently had not yet been able to complete the removal.

11. ταύτῃ 'at that place' i.e. where the flocks were collected. [St. reads ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ταύτην, i.e. to the sea of Artemisium where the fleet lay.]

12. παλάμην 'a contrivance', so in Pindar Olymp. 9, 26 it means 'art': properly and primarily it is the 'palm of the hand'.

14. ἐς τοσοῦτο παρεγύμνου 'he disclosed it so far', i.e. he didn't disclose it any further than this. Cp. 9, 44.

15. ἐπὶ δὲ...πρήγμασι, p. 21, l. 4 'in the immediate circumstances which had arisen'. For this meaning of ἐπὶ cp. the phrases ἐπ' ἐξεργασμένοις, ἐπ' Ἑλλήσι ἀνδράσι (9, 17).

19. κομιδῆς δὲ περί...μελήσειν 'and as to their setting off, the proper season should be his own care'. That is the time in the night, see on p. 8, l. 9. πῦρ ἀνακαλεῖν to light the ordinary watch-fires in the camp, that the enemy might be deceived and believe that they were remaining at Artemisium through the night.

22. ἐτράποντο [App. A. II. 5] πρὸς τὰ πρόβατα 'they set to work to slaughter the sheep'.

## CHAPTER XX.

23, 4. παραχρησάμενοι 'having slighted' or 'neglected'. The force of παρὰ is that of the English *mis-* in composition. ὥς οὐδὲν λέγοντα 'as being worthless', 'having nothing in it'. Cp. the phrase λέγεις τι 'there is something in what you say', the opposite would be οὐδὲν λέγεις.

24. οὔτε τι ἐξεκομίσαντο οὐδὲν οὔτε προεσάξαντο 'they neither conveyed their families out of the islands nor took any precautionary measures for collecting corn into their forts'. Cp. I, 190 of the

Babylonians expecting the attack of Cyrus *προεσάξαντο σιτία ἐτέων κάρτα πολλῶν*.

26. *περιπετέα τε...πρήγματα* 'and so they brought disasters upon themselves': they brought it about that the result was disastrous to themselves. *περιπετέης* conveys the notion of a change, especially from good to bad [cp. *περιπέτεια* for the catastrophe of a tragedy]. It is a rare word in this sense, cp. Eurip. Andr. 982 *νῦν οἷν ἐπειδὴ περιπετέεις ἔχεις τέχας* 'since your circumstances have suffered so disastrous a change'.

11 1. *ᾧδε ἔχει* 'is in these terms'.

3. *βαρβαρόφωνος*, see another Oracle of Bakis in 9, 43. This compound of *βάρβαρος* is more ancient in usage than the simple *βάρβαρος*, and is the only form in which the word occurs in Homer (Il. 2, 867), and points to the difference of language as the great distinction between the Hellene and non-Hellene.

4. *βύβλινον*. In the bridge of ships made across the Hellespont the ships were fastened together by six cables, two made of flax, four of byblus [7, 36], a coarse variety of the same plant as that from which paper was made. *ἀπέχιν* infin. for imperative, G. § 269.

5. *οὐδὲν χρησαμένοισι* 'because they paid no attention to'. *ἔπεισι* 'verses'.

7. *συμφορῇ χρᾶσθαι* 'to meet with disaster', a general phrase, used especially in legal language of losing one's citizenship (Demosth. 523); here it is explained by *πρὸς τὰ μέγιστα* 'in regard to their most vital interests'.

## CHAPTER XXI.

8. *οἱ μὲν* i.e. the Greeks; he is continuing the narrative from C. 19.

9. *δ...κατάσκοπος* the look-out man stationed at Trachis. Thus we hear of *ἡμερόσκοποι* being stationed along the heights of Euboea (7, 182) as opposed to *φρυκτωροί* or the signallers by fire at night.

11. *κατῆρες* [Rt. *ἀρ- αἶτο*] with oars all ready, fitted to start at any moment. *παλησιέε* 'should be engaged' [from *πάλη* 'wrestling'].

15. *τριηκοντέρω* a thirty-oared boat, cf. *πεντεκόντερος* p. 1, l. 11. *τι νεώτερον* 'any disaster', cp. 6, 2 *καταγνώσθεις πρὸς αὐτῶν νεώτερα πρήσσειν πρήγματα ἐς ἐνωτοὺς ἐκ Δαρείου*.



18. οὐκέτι ἐς ἀναβολὰς ἐποιεῦντο τὴν ἀποχώρησιν 'no longer procrastinated about their departure', ἐς ἀναβολὰς ποιεῖσθαι = ἀναβάλλειν. Abicht quotes Thucyd. 7, 15 ὅτι δὲ μέλλετε ἅμα τῷ ἡρι εὐθὺς καὶ μὴ ἐς ἀναβολὰς πράσσειν.

## CHAPTER XXII.

23. ἐπιλεξάμενος 'having selected for himself', i.e. to keep with him, waiting behind the others, which they could afterwards catch up by their superior speed.

2. ἐπελέξαντο 'read' from the notion of saying over to oneself, 12 or perhaps of picking out for oneself the words.

3. ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας 'against the authors of your race', i.e. against the Athenians who were regarded as the parent stock of all Ionians, although the Athenians themselves were said to repudiate the name of Ionian, and to claim rather to be Pelasgians [Her. 1, 56, 103]. See however 7, 51, where Artabanus is represented as including the Athenians among the Ionians.

5. μάλιστα μὲν...εἰ δὲ μὴ 'if possible'... 'but if not'.

7. ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἡμῖν ἔξεσθε 'remain out of the contest and take no part we beg of you'. ἡμῖν *dativus ethicus*.

τῶν Καρῶν. The Carians were not Hellenes, but they had before resisted the Persians and were therefore likely to be induced to desert. See 5, 117—120.

9. οἷόν τε, see p. 10, l. 9. ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης...ἀπίστασθαι 'but have fallen under constraint too powerful to allow of your deserting'. For ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης cp. 9, 17. This use of κατέξευχθε is poetical, cp. Soph. Aj. 124 αὕτη συγκατέξευκται κακῇ (Ab.).

13. ἀπ' ὑμέων ἡμῖν γέγονε. An allusion to the fact of the Athenians having sent assistance to the revolting Ionians in B.C. 500, and having in their cause invaded Asia and burnt Sardis; see 5, 99—102.

14. δοκέειν ἐμοί 'in my opinion'. G. § 268. ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα νοέων 'with an eye to the two alternatives'.

16. πρὸς ἐωυτῶν 'on their side' p. 30, l. 14.

ἐπεὶ τε ἀνενειχθῇ, for the subjunctive in a conditional relative sentence without ἂν see G. § 234. It is very rare except in Epic poetry: Ab. quotes c. 108 ἐς ὃ ἔλθῃ. Cp. Thucyd. 1, 137 μέχρι πλοῦς γίνηται. διαβληθῇ 'represented in an invidious light'.

17. ἀπίστους *passive* 'distrusted'.



## CHAPTER XXIII.

25. οὕτω δὴ *tum demum* 'then at last', or 'when they had been satisfied about *that*'.

ἔμα ἤλιφ σκιδναμένφ 'as soon as the rays of the sun were spread abroad'. A poetical expression for 'at sunrise'. Stein quotes Aeschylus Pers. 504 πρὶν σκεδασθῆναι θεοῦ ἀκτῖνας. And Hom. Il. 7, 451 ὅσον τ' ἐπικίδναται ἡώς.

27. μέχρι μέσου, cp. p. 8, l. 17 κατὰ μέσον ἡμέρης. τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου 'thereafter', 9, 40; cp. τὸ ἐνθεύτεν 9, 26.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

13 9. καὶ δύο μυριάδες 'as many as twenty thousand'. The καὶ is used to emphasize the contrast.

11. φυλλάδα ἐπιβαλὼν 'having thrown leaves upon them' i. e. upon the corpses. Stein thinks it probable that this was some funeral custom, though we know of none such. Others would refer the scattering of the foliage to the τάφροι explaining the object to be the concealment of the recent digging. γῆν ἐπαμησάμενος 'having heaped up earth upon them', the usual word for the making of a grave or barrow, see Theognis 426—27 φέροντα δ' ὅπως ὤκιστα πύλας Ἀΐδαο περῆσαι. καὶ κείσθαι πολλὴν γῆν ἐπαμησάμενον, as also other passages given by L. and Sc.

## CHAPTER XXV.

20. οὐδὲν πλοίων σπανιώτερον 'boats were the most difficult things to get in the world', i. e. there was such a rush for the shore that all the boats were in use.

21. ἐθελύντο, App. D. III. 2 (b).

22. ἡπιστέατο, see p. 3, l. 21.

24. καὶ τοὺς εἰλωτας 'the Helots as well'. We know that each Spartan at Thermopylae had his Helot, see 7, 229; but it is not stated whether there was the same proportion as in the Spartan army which went to Plataea, viz. 7 helots to each Spartan, see 9, 10 and 28.

οὐ μὲν οὐδ' ἐλάνθανε 'not that he even escaped detection by'.

καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ γελοῖον ἦν 'for in point of fact it was absolutely ridiculous', explained by the next sentence, which might

be expected to have been introduced by γάρ, the omission of which Stein illustrates by 7, 6 where τοῦτο μὲν and τοῦτο δὲ introduce explanatory clauses without this conjunction. For καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ cp. 7, 236.

3. τέσσερες χιλιάδες. The numbers originally accompanying 14 Leonidas to Thermopylae were according to Herodotus [7, 202, 3] from the Peloponnesus (including the 300 Spartans) 3100, from Thespiæ 700, from Thebes 400,—in all 4200. These were joined at Thermopylae by about 2000 Lokrians and Phokians,—making 6200. If we may reckon 7 helots for each of the 300 Spartans [p. 13, l. 24] the numbers will be raised to 8300. But Diodorus (11, 4) adds also 1000 Lakedaemonians [i.e. not Spartan citizens, probably Perioeci]:—the whole number will thus be 9300. But just before the final battle Leonidas sent away all the allies except the Thebans and Thespians [7, 219, 220]. The numbers engaged on the third day would therefore be

Spartans	300
Helots	2100
Lakedaemonians	1000
Thespians	700
Thebans	400
	<hr/>
	4500

The Theban 400 deserted to the Persians, and therefore allowing for escapes, especially of Helots, and for any that fell on the two previous days, and adding 80 Mycenaeans [mentioned by Pausanias 2, 16, 5] the number of Greek corpses which Xerxes had to show may well have been about 4000. And this is the number mentioned in the Epitaph inscribed over them [7, 228],

Μυριάσιν ποτὲ τῇδε τριηκοσίαις ἐμάχοντο  
ἐκ Πελοποννάσου χιλιάδες τέτορες.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

8. βίου δεόμενοι 'in want of a livelihood'.

ἐνεργοὶ 'in active employment'.

12. ὥς Ὀλύμπια ἄγοιεν. The Olympic festival took place every fifth year, i.e. there were four clear years between each festival. It lasted five days and according to Böckh began on the

first full moon after the Summer solstice. It therefore varied by a few weeks, but may be considered to have usually taken place some time in the month Hecatombaeon (July).

14. *κείμενον* 'proposed for competition'.

15. *τῆς ἐλαίης* the garland given to the victors at the Olympic games was of wild olive (*κρίντος*). Aristot. h. Plut. 585 *τοῖς νικῶντας στεφανώσας κοτίνῳ στεφάνῳ*.

17. *δειλίην ὥφλε* 'was held guilty of cowardice', properly a legal term *ὥφλεῖν δειλίην* 'to be cast in a suit', 'to incur the damages'. Then it is transferred to the matter of the charge itself, as *μωρίαν ὥφλισκάνω* 'I am held guilty of folly', Soph. Antig. 470.

19. *οὔτε ἠνέσχετο σιγῶν* 'he could not refrain from speaking'.

22. *περὶ ἀρετῆς* 'for honour', the valour is used for the result of valour—honour. So in Pindar αἰὲ δ' ἀμφ' ἀρ' ταῖσι πόνος δαπάνη τε μάχεται πρὸς ἔργον Olymp. 5, 15; τίμα ἄνδρα πύξ ἀρετὰν εἰρήντα Ol. 7, 89; ξυνάει δ' ἀμφ' ἀρεταῖς τέταται Pyth. 11, 54. ἀρετὰν γε μὲν ἐκ Διὸς ἔξεις Theocr. Id. 17, 137.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

15 1. *καὶ τὸ κάρτα* 'most especially', the *καὶ* gives emphasis, cp. p. 30, l. 7.

3. *οὐ πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι πρότερον*. Neither the exact time nor the occasion of this invasion of Phokis is known: but the constant border warfare between the two nations had induced the Phokians to build a wall across the pass of Thermopylae for their protection [7, 176].

8. *σεφίζεται τοιόνδε* 'contrives the following trick against them'. *γυψώσας* 'having smeared with chalk', cp. 7, 69; the object was to be able to distinguish each other from the enemy in the dim light without the necessity of shouting a pass-word, which was the cause of great confusion in night attacks, see Thucyd. 7, 44, 5.

14. *ἄλλο τι εἶναι τέρας* 'that it was something strange and supernatural'.

16. *νεκρῶν καὶ ἀσπίδων* '4000 dead bodies and shields'. That is, they killed 4000 men on the field. For if the men had escaped, the number of shields would have exceeded that of the dead bodies, cf. Thucyd. 7, 45, 2 *ὅπλα μέντοι ἔτι πλείω ἢ κατὰ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐλπίσθη*, many having thrown away their shields.

19. οἱ περὶ τὸν τρίποδα 'which are arranged round the tripod'. *περὶ* with acc. indicates a less close connexion than with gen. Cp. p. 20, l. 17: Stein quotes 9, 62 ἐγένετο δὲ πρῶτον περὶ τὰ γέρρα μάχη. This seems to be the tripod described by Pausanias (10, 13, 4) as being the centre of a group of gods; Hercules and Apollo are contending for it, while Latona is trying to restrain Apollo, and Athenè Hercules. It was dedicated by the Phokians as a thank-offering for their victory mentioned above (l. 3) under Tellias over the Thesalians. The colossal figures (οἱ μεγάλοι ἀνδριάντες) mentioned seem to have been placed round this work at some little distance, though grouped with some regularity (*συνεστεῶτες*).

20. ἔμπροσθε τοῦ νηοῦ, that is, outside the temple, in the *τέμενος*.

21. ἀνακέαται, App. D. II. 6.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

22, 23. τὸν πέζον.....πολιορκέοντας ἑαυτοὺς the land army which was besieging them. The plural participle with a singular noun of multitude. G. § 138, note 3.

24. τὴν ἵππον αὐτῶν 'their cavalry', in this meaning ἡ ἵππος is not used in the plural, but is a noun of multitude. Thessaly was full of rich plains, and was especially famous for its horses, and Thessalian cavalry were in request all through Greece.

26, 27. ἀμφορέας κεινοὺς 'empty wine-jars'. *χοῦν* is earth that has been moved. So *συγχοῦν* 'to fill up with earth' p. 37, l. 18.

29. ὡς ἀναρπασόμενοι 'believing that they were going to make short work of the Phokians': cf. 9, 59 οὗτοι μὲν βοῇ τε καὶ ὀμίλῳ ἐπήϊσαν ὡς ἀναρπασόμενοι τοὺς Ἑλληνας.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

1. τούτων ἀμφοτέρων viz. the night surprise c. 27, and the 16 stratagem which injured their horses c. 28.

2. ἔγκοτον 'grudge'. Cp. 3, 59 ἔγκοτον ἔχοντες Σαμίοισι.

3. γνωσιμαχέετε 'give way and confess', from the notion of differing and fighting with a former opinion. See 3, 25; 7, 130 and Aristoph. Aves 555

τὴν ἀρχὴν τὸν Δι' ἀπαιτεῖν,  
κἂν μὲν μὴ φῇ μηδ' ἐθέλησῃ μηδ' εὐθὺς γνωσιμαχῆσῃ  
ιερὸν πόλεμον πρῶτον αὐτῷ.

5, 6. πλέον αἰεὶ... ὑμέων ἐφερόμεθα 'we always came off better than you', 'we were always more influential than you'. Cp. 8, 104 *φερόμενος* ὁ τὰ δεύτερα παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ 'being the most influential with the king'. ἐκεῖνα 'that side' = τὰ ἐκεῖνων [Ἑλλήνων] πρίγματα.

7, 8. ἐπ' ἡμῖν ἐστι 'it is in our hands', 'it depends solely on us'. πρὸς adverbial, 'besides', p. 26, l. 4.

8, 9. τὸ πᾶν ἔχοντες 'though we have the game absolutely in our hands', 'though we are all powerful in the matter'. Cf. the use of ἔξεις 'you will control' in 9, 2.

10. ἀντ' αὐτῶν sc. κακῶν 'our wrongs' implied in μνησι-κακόμεν.

## CHAPTER XXX.

16. αὔξων 'had been backing up', cp. 9, 31 καὶ τινες αἰτῶν τὰ Ἑλλήνων αὔξων. ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν. See p. 12, l. 14.

18. παρέχειν τέ σφι 'that it was open to them to medize as well as to the Thessalians if they chose'. For παρέχειν = παρίναι, cp. 8, 106 παρέχει ταῦτα ποιεῖν. See p. 5, l. 1.

19. ἄλλως 'otherwise than they were', or 'otherwise than rightly'.

20. ἐκόντες εἶναι 'with their own consent at least'. This phrase is generally used in a negative sentence. See 7, 104; 9, 7. An exception occurs in 7, 164.

## CHAPTER XXXI.

23. οὕτω δὴ, p. 3, l. 24.

17 3. ποδεῶν properly 'the neck of a wine-skin', 2, 121; here it = 'a narrow tongue of land'.

ταύτῃ κατατείνει 'extends downwards in this direction'. It is the district 'of the upper valleys of the Kephisos and its main tributary, the Pindus'. Rawl. It stretches from Mt Oeta in a south-westerly direction, following the course of the Kephisos.

6. μητρόπολις Δωριέων, see 1, 56 where the Dorians are said to have moved first from Phthiotis to Histiaeotis, then to Pindos in Doris, thence to Dryopis, and thence to the Peloponnese.

## CHAPTER XXXII.

12. ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τοῦ Παρνησοῦ. These Phokians collected in considerable force on Parnassus and did good service to the Greeks in this and the following years, see 9, 31.

14. κειμένη ἐπ' ἑωυτῆς 'being quite isolated', for ἐπ' ἑωυτῆς 'by itself' cp. 9, 17 ἐκέλευσέ σφεας ἐπ' ἑωυτῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἵζεσθαι, cp. 9, 38.

15. ἀνηνείκαντο [App. E. 2. c. An Ionic form of 1 aor. mid. of ἀναφέρω, so in 1, 86 ἀνενικάμενος] 'carried up their goods'. Stein refers to 9, 6 ὑπεξεκομίσαντό τε πάντα καὶ αὐτοὶ διέβησαν. See also p. 19, l. 11.

18. ὑπὲρ τοῦ Κρισαίου πεδίου 'on the heights above the Krisaeian plain'. Strabo (4, 9) describes it as ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀκροῖς τοῦ Κρισαίου πέδου.

20. οὕτω 'by this route'.

21. ἔκειρον 'cut down its trees'. See 6, 75 ἔκειρε τὸ τέμενος: 9, 15 ἔκειρε τοὺς χόρους. See p. 32, l. 15. ἐπέσχον 'extended over', p. 18, l. 16; cp. 1, 108 τὴν ἄμπελον ἐπισχεῖν τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν. Cp. 9, 31.

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

24. κατὰ μὲν ἔκαυσαν, for this tmesis cp. 9, 5 κατὰ μὲν ἔλευσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα, κατὰ δὲ τὰ τέκνα. See p. 34, l. 23. G. § 191 note 3, p. 241.

28. θησαυροῖσί τε καὶ ἀναθήμασι. The former refers to treasures in gold and silver money or plate, the latter to statues, tripods and other thank-offerings.

1. πρὸς τοῖσι οὖρεσι 'close to the hill country', that is, before 18 they could get high enough up to be safe.

## CHAPTER XXXIV.

3. Παραποταμίους the name of a town in the valley of the Kephisos, which reaches the Boeotian frontier at Panopeis, or, as it was afterwards called, Phanoteus.

8. πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος 'the people in a body'. Yet exceptions have to be made to this statement in the case of the Plataeans and Thespians, and even in Thebes itself there seems to have been a division of opinion [9, 96-7]. The measure of Alexander in put-

ting Macedonian governors in the Boeotian cities looks as if they were not considered quite to be relied upon for medism, though Herodotus says the primary object was to satisfy Xerxes that Boeotia could be trusted.

11. τῇδε 'with this view'. βουλόμενοι 'because they wished'.

12. τὰ Μήδων, see p. 39, l. 24 φρονέων τὰ βασιλέος.

## CHAPTER XXXV.

15. ἐν δεξιῇ τὸν Παρνησὸν ἀπέρχοντες 'keeping Parnassus on their right'.

16. ἐπέσχον, p. 17, l. 21.

21. ἀποδέξαιεν [App. E. 2. e] τὰ χρήματα 'that they might display to Xerxes the wealth of the temple'. Not only was the temple of Delphi rich in gold and silver ornaments and works of art, but it possessed also a large treasury of money, and was a kind of bank for all Greece.

24. τὰ Κροίσου 'the offerings of Kroesos'. Kroesos, king of Lydia, having tested the skill of the various oracles of Greece, decided that the supremacy in prophetic power belonged to Delphi. He therefore offered there elaborate sacrifices of 3000 animals; and having made a pile of valuable objects of extraordinary magnificence,—couches overlaid with gold and silver, gold cups, and purple robes,—he burnt them in honour of the god, and from the molten gold made 117 bricks of solid metal, weighing  $1\frac{1}{2}$  talents each, and a figure of a lion in gold weighing 10 talents, and sent them to Delphi. Besides these he sent two large bowls of gold and silver, and many other articles of value. 1, 47—52. This was in or about the year B.C. 555, when he was expecting the attack of Kyros.

## CHAPTER XXXVI.

19 2. ἀπίκато, App. D. II. a.

4. κατὰ γῆς κατορύξωσι 'whether they should bury them in the earth'. Cp. Arist. Plut. 237 εὐθὺς κατώρυξέν με κατὰ τῆς γῆς κάτω. σφέα, App. B. II. 1 (d).

6. προκατῆσθαι 'to defend'. Cp. 9, 106 ἀδύνατον γὰρ εἶναι τοὺς Ἰώνων προκατῆσθαι φρουρέοντας.

8. πέρην App. A. II. 3 (d), 'across' the gulf of Corinth into Achaia.



11. ἀννέεικοντο 'conveyed their goods', p. 17, l. 15.

13. τοῦ προφήτεω the Priest, or Interpreter, in charge of the temple, whose duty was to note down and hand over to the applicant the oracles delivered by the Pythia, when under the divine influence, *antistes templi*, Livy 7, 111. In later times when the number of visitors increased there were a larger number of priests.

## CHAPTER XXXVII.

15. ἀπώρεον 'saw from a distance'. Cp. 9, 69 ἀπιδόντες σφέας οἱ τῶν Θηβαίων ἱππότεαι ἐπιφερομένους οὐδένα κόσμον ἤλαννον ἐπ' αὐτούς.

17. ἐξεννηγιμένα, App. E. 2. c.

21. κατὰ τὸ ἱρόν τῆς Προνήτης Ἀθηναίης 'opposite the temple of Athenè Pronaia'. Pausanias (10, 8, 4) says that on entering the town of Delphi one passed several temples one after the other, the fourth of which was that of Athenè Pronaia.

25. καὶ διὰ πάντων φασμάτων 'quite above all other prodigies'. For the sense of διὰ cp. p. 36, l. 17; and for the emphatic καὶ p. 30, l. 17.

3, 4. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Παρνησοῦ...ἐφέροντο. This phenomenon is 20  
by no means improbable, as the huge boulders scattered about on the site of Delphi testify. The frequency of earthquakes in the region of Parnassus is well described by Professor Maliaffy in his description of another town, Arachova, in the same district [*Rambles and Studies in Greece*, p. 261]:

'The town has a curious, scattered appearance, owing not 'only to the extraordinary nature of the site, but to the fact that 'huge boulders, I might say rocks, have been shaken loose by 'earthquakes from above, and have come tumbling into the 'middle of the town. They crush a house or two, and stand 'there in the middle of a street. Presently someone comes and 'builds a house up against the side of this rock; others venture 'in their turn, and so the town recovers itself, till another earth- 'quake makes another rent. Since 1870 these earthquakes have 'been very frequent. At first they were very severe, and ruined 'almost all the town; but now they are very slight, and so 'frequent that we were assured that they happened at some time 'every day.'

6. ἀλαλαγμός a shouting of *alalai*, a war-cry. Aeschyl. Pers. 392 κέλαδος Ἑλλήνων... ὄρθιον δ' ἄμα Ἀντηλάλαξε νησιώτιδος πέτρας ἡχώ.

## CHAPTER XXXVIII.

7. **τούτων πάντων** 'all these wonders'. It is difficult to determine what foundation of truth there may be to such tales. The storm and the sudden detachment of the great boulders from the mountain are facts in themselves credible enough, see the passage quoted from Prof. Mahaffy above; and in a sudden panic among men, whose minds were already predisposed to superstitious awe, because attacking a place whose sanctity was so renowned, the appearance of superhuman warriors may easily have been imagined. So at Marathon the Athenian Epizelos fancied that he saw one [6, 117]; and at Salamis a form of a goddess was believed to have appeared to the Athenians as they backed out of the fight [c. 84]; and at the battle of Leuctra the national hero, Aristomenes, was said to have cheered on his Messenian countrymen [Paus. 4, 32, 4]; and Phylakos appeared again at Delphi on the attack of the Gauls [Paus. 10, 23, 2]. Mr Grote seems however to hold that this attack on Delphi was withdrawn on the news of the defeat at Salamis. 'On this occasion the real protectors of the treasures were the conquerors at Salamis and Plataea'. *Hist. of Greece*, vol. 4, p. 463.

10. **ἰθὺ Βοιωτῶν** 'straight to Boeotia'. So **ἰθὺ τοῦ ἱεροῦ** **ἰθὺ τῆς Ὀρηκῆς**, 9, 69, 89.

13. **μέγονας ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπων φύσιν** 'of superhuman size'. **φύσις** is used of the outward form bestowed by nature, whether in regard to appearance or size. See Arist. *Vesp.* 1071 **τὴν εὐίην ἰδὼν φύσιν**. In Homer the more common word in this sense is **φυσή**.

## CHAPTER XXXIX.

16. **ἐπιχωρίους ἥρωας** 'heroes of the place'. Every Greek state had its heroes, i.e. certain of its citizens whose public services had seemed to deserve apotheosis, either in founding the state or defending it. The worship paid to them was different in kind from that paid to the god [**ὥς ἡρωὶ ἐναγίζονσιν ὥς θεῷ θύουσι** Paus. 2, 11, 7], though the two were apt to be confounded. Instances of such national heroes are the Aeakidae of Aegina (8, 64); Harmodios and Aristogeiton at Athens; Androkates at Plataea (9, 25). Dr Arnold [Thucyd. 5, 11] compares the worship paid to such heroes to the adoration of Saints.

17. **τὰ τεμένεια** the sacred enclosures round the temples, cut off

(τέμνω) from the profane ground. *περὶ τὸ ἱερόν* 'in the neighbourhood of *the* temple', i.e. of the great temple of Apollo, p. 15, l. 19.

18. *παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν ὁδὸν* 'abutting on the road itself', i.e. 'the sacred road' from Daulis up to the great temple, on which stood also the temple of Athenè Pronaia, see p. 19, l. 21.

'The road from Daulis to the S.-W. leads along a rugged valley to Delphi, and falls in with another from Ambryssus on the S., at a point halfway between the two. This place was called the *σχιστὴ ὁδός*, or the Divided Way'. Wordsworth, *Athens and Attica*, p. 237.

21. *ἐς ἡμέας* 'to my day'.

23. *διὰ τῶν βαρβάρων* 'through the ranks of the Barbarians'.

## CHAPTER XL.

21 1. *σχεῖν πρὸς Σαλαμίνα* 'to come to anchor near Salamis'. The more usual construction is *σχεῖν ἐς*, see below l. 13 and above p. 20, l. 27. Thucyd. 3, 34, 1 *ἔσχε ἐς Νότιον*, 4, 3, 1 *ἐς τὴν Πύλον σχόντας*. Thucydides also uses the dative *τῇ*, 1, 2 *σχόντες Ῥηγίῳ καὶ Μεσσίῳ*. But the use of *πρὸς* is to indicate not the actual putting on shore *at* Salamis, but near it, either on the island or the opposite coast.

3. *πρὸς δὲ adverbial* 'and besides', see p. 16, l. 8. *τὸ=τί quid*, cp. 9, 54 *ἐπείρεσθαι τὸ χρεὼν εἴη ποιεῖν*, 9, 71 *γενομένης λίσσης ὅς γένοιτο ἄριστος*.

4. *ἐπὶ καὶ τοῖσι κατήκουσι*, p. 10, l. 15.

*βουλὴν ἔμελλον ποιήσεσθαι* 'they had to reconsider their plans in view of the disappointment of their expectations'. For the construction of *ἔμελλον* see on p. 2, l. 3.

6. *πανδημεῖ* 'with all their available forces', cp. 6, 108; 9, 37: whereas *πανστρατιῇ* [p. 15, l. 2: p. 34, l. 8] seems properly to mean 'with a full levy of all arms'—hoplites, cavalry, light-armed; which would consist of two-thirds of all available. Cp. Thucyd. 4, 94.

8. *οἱ δέ*, 'whereas on the contrary they learnt'.

*τὸν Ἰσθμόν τειχέοντας*. This wall was built from sea to sea, about seven miles east of the town of Corinth, and can still be traced. It was completed early next year [B.C. 479]. See 9, 7—8.

9. *περὶ πλείστου ποιευμένους*, 'regarding as the matter of first importance.' p. 8, l. 14.

10, 11. *περιεῖναι* 'should be saved', cp. p. 2, l. 8. *ἀπιέναι* [*ἀπ—ἱημι*]. *οὕτω δὲ*, p. 3, l. 24: p. 16, l. 22.

## CHAPTER XLI.

15. *τῇ τις δύναται*, 'in whatever direction each found it possible', i.e. it was left to individuals to go where they pleased; the population was not moved en masse.

17. *ἐς Τροιζήνα*. According to Plutarch the people of Troezen received them with great kindness; voted a public provision of two obols a day for each adult, and gave a general permission to the children to pick fruit. Plutarch Themist. c. 10.

19. *τῶ χρηστηρίῳ*, the two oracles which had been given to the Athenian envoys in the early part of the year. The first (7, 140) had announced utter destruction to Athens and other Greek towns, and had warned the Athenians to fly to the ends of the earth: the second (7, 141) had been less alarming, and had prophesied that when all else was lost 'a wooden wall alone' should be left uncaptured to Athens. Some interpreted this of a wooden palisade round the Acropolis, but Themistocles had persuaded his fellow-citizens that it meant the fleet; and moreover encouraged them by the interpretation of the last two lines of the second oracle,

*ὦ θείη Σαλαμίς, ἀπολείς δὲ σὺ τέκνα γυναικῶν  
ἣ που σκιδναμένης Δημήτερος ἦ συνιούσης.*

For he remarked that had the god meant to prophesy destruction to the Athenians at Salamis the epithet would not have been *θείη* but *σχετλίη*. The people had therefore been fully persuaded to abandon their town and trust to their fleet. Professor Mahaffy takes the view that the priests of Delphi were playing a double game in view of what they thought was the certain success of Persia: 'I cannot but suspect', he says, 'that they hoped to gain the favour of Xerxes, and remain under him what they had hitherto been, a wealthy and protected corporation'. [*Ramblings and Studies in Greece* p. 272.] Perhaps, without attributing to them feelings so unpatriotic, we may conclude that being usually under Spartan influence they took the Peloponnesian view,—that to save Northern Greece was impossible, and that the only hope was to abandon it and defend the Isthmus.

20. *οὐκ ἤκιστα* 'especially', p. 37, l. 4.

21. *ὄφιν μέγαν*. This serpent, emblem of the earthborn Erechtheus, was supposed to be kept in the Ancient Temple of Athenæ Polias, which in its subsequently restored state formed the eastern

portion of the Erechtheum on the Acropolis. This temple also contained the old olive-wood statue of Athenè Polias to which the *festus* was yearly brought; the sacred olive from which all the other sacred olives (*μορίαι*) were taken; and the golden lamp always burning, from which emigrants lit the lamp which they took to their new home.

**φύλακον.** Ionic form of *φέλακα*, cp. 1, 84. The serpent was sometimes called *ὄφης οἰκουρὸς*, cf. Aristoph. Lys. 758 ἀλλ' οὐ δύναμαι ᾄδειν οὐδὲ κοιμᾶσθ' ἐν πόλει, ἐξ' οὗ τὸν ὄφιν εἶδον τὸν οἰκουρὸν ποτε.

22. ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ 'in the temple' sc. of Athenè Polias, see above. καὶ δὴ καὶ ὥς ἐόντι 'and moreover as though it actually existed'. Herodotus evidently doubts of the existence of the serpent: and Plutarch [Themist. 10], though apparently believing in the existence of the serpent, looked upon the whole affair as a trick got up between the priests and Themistocles. Rawlinson well compares the story of the priests in Babylon contained in the book of Daniel 'Bel and the Dragon'. See also the scene in the temple of Aesculapius Arist. Plut. 678 where the priest goes round with a bag collecting the catables from the altars. ἐπιμήνια that is on the day of every new moon.

24. μελιτόεσσα 'a honey-cake', apparently the proper offering to subterranean powers. Thus Strepsiades before going in the den of the Sophists, as if he were going into the cave of Trophonius, says, ἐς τῷ χειρὲ νυν Δός μοι μελιτοῦτταν πρότερον (Aristoph. Nub. 506). Thus too Aeneas gives Cerberus *melle soporatum et medicatis frugibus offam* (Aen. 6, 420).

25. ἀναισιμουμένη 'used up'. ἀναισιμῶ is a verb confined almost entirely to Herodotus, who uses it frequently for ἀναλίσκω or δαπανάω.

26. τῆς ἱερείης 'the priestess'. Plutarch Themist. 10 says οἱ ἱερεῖς εἰσήγγελλον εἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς, but insinuates that it was by the instigation of Themistocles.

1. ὥς καὶ τῆς θεοῦ ἀπολλοιπιύης τὴν ἀκρόπολιν 'because they 22 believed that the goddess too had abandoned the Acropolis'. The gods were believed to abandon a conquered town. Cp. Vergil Aen. 2, 351 *Excessere omnes adytis arisque relictis | Di quibus imperium hoc steterat*. Aeschyl. S. c. Th. 207 ἀλλ' οὖν θεοὺς | τοὺς τῆς ἀλούσης πόλεως ἐκλείπειν λόγος. So Tacitus (Hist. 5, 13) says that when the temple at Jerusalem was on fire *audita major humana vox*,

*excedere deos; simul ingens motus excedentium.* A passage in Euripides [Troad. 23] gives a reason ἰρημία γὰρ πόλιν ὅταν λάβῃ κακὴ νοσεῖ τὰ τῶν θεῶν οὐδὲ τιμᾶσθαι θέλει.

2. **στρατόπεδον** here='the fleet', cp. p. 43, l. 1. Plutarch (Them. c. 10) gives a full description of the scene of the departure, the tears, and touching adieus, not the least moving part being the leaving behind of domestic animals, especially the dogs. He also tells us that the Council of the Areopagus supplied each man fighting on board with 8 drachmae.

## CHAPTER XLII.

7. **προεῖρητο** 'they had been ordered beforehand', i.e. by the congress at the Isthmus, see on p. 1, l. 1.

8. **πλεῦνες**. App. B. 1. c.

11. **οὐ μέντοι... βασιλῆιου**. The two kings at the time of the 3 days of Artemisium were Leonidas and Leotychides. Both kings could not go out with the army together, and as Leonidas was at Thermopylae the other king is kept at home. In the next year Leotychides took the command of the Spartan ships, while the son of Leonidas, Pleistarchus, was a child and kept at home, being represented by his cousin Pausanias.

## CHAPTER XLIII.

16. **τὸ αὐτὸ πλήρωμα** 'the same complement of ships', i.e. forty. See c. 2.

20. **Δωρικόν τε καὶ Μακεδνόν** 'Doric or Macedonian' [old Macedonian], two names belonging to the same tribe, see on p. 40, l. 11.

23, 24. **ἐκ τῆς νῦν Δωρίδος**. See p. 17, l. 7. **ἐξαναστάντες** 'having been driven out'.

## CHAPTER XLIV.

23 2. **πρὸς πάντας... παρεχόμενοι** sc. ἐστρατεύοντο 'supplying the largest number in comparison with any of the other Greeks', **πλείστας** must be understood, its place being taken by the numerals. The numbers,—Athenians 180, total 378 (or 366 as it really is),—would almost justify the sense 'as many as all the rest put together'. We must remember also that Athens supplied the 20 ships which the Chalkidians manned [c. 1]. For a preposition with acc. taking the place of a genitive after a comparative clause cp. Thuc. 1, 23

ἡλίου ἐκλείψεις πυκνότεραι παρὰ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ πρὶν χρόνου μνημονευόμενα.

4. μῶνοι 'by themselves', without the Plataeans, as is explained by the next sentence, see p. 1, l. 5.

8. ἐς περαιήν τῆς Βοιωτίας χώρας 'to the opposite shore, namely that of Boeotia', a genitive in apposition, or of definition. περαιήν sc. γῆν. For the use of the word in the relation of one shore to another, cp. p. 19, l. 8.

ἐκκομιδῇν, cp. ἐξεκομίσαντο p. 10, l. 24. The Plataeans were in double danger, for their fidelity to the Hellenic cause and especially to the Athenians, and from the enmity of the Thebans.

9. τῶν οἰκετῶν 'of their families', like the Latin *familia*, used to include all members of the household, women, children and slaves.

10. ἐπὶ...ἐχόντων 'at the period of the occupation by the Pelasgi of what is now called Hellas'. G. § 191, vi. 1. For a discussion of these names see *Historical Index*, and cp. 1, 56.

14. Ἀθηναῖοι μετουνομάσθησαν 'changed their name to that of Athenians'.

15, 16. στρατάρχῳ [-χης App. C. 1. 4] 'general'. 'A designedly indefinite expression instead of the usual βασιλεύς' (St.). Ἵωνες though the Athenians repudiated the term 1, 143.

## CHAPTER XLV.

17. τῷτὸ πλήρωμα p. 22, l. 15, 'the same complement', i.e. twenty ships, see p. 1, l. 6. τῷτὸ καὶ 'the same as'; for καὶ introducing the second term of a comparison, cp. Thucyd. 7, 71 παραπλήσια οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπεπόνθησαν ἐν Συρακούσαις καὶ ἔδρασαν αὐτοὶ ἐν Πύλῳ.

19. ἐπεβόθησαν. App. A. III. 8.

## CHAPTER XLVI.

20. Νησιωτῶν 'islanders', as opposed to people of the continent, and therefore without article. Cp. νῆσοι 9, 3.

23. τῇν ἐωυτῶν sc. γῆν.

25. Δωριεὺς ἀπὸ Ἐπιδαύρου, see 5, 83, where to this connexion is traced the commencement of a war between Athens and Aegina.

4. ἐς τοὺς Μήδους. Plutarch [de malign. Herod. xxxvi] declares 24 this statement to be false, and that the Naxians as a state supported the Hellenic side; and moreover that, according to Hellenicus, they sent 6, according to Ephoros 5 ships. From an epigram of Simoni-



des, quoted by Plutarch, we learn that this small squadron sank 5 of the enemy's ships, and rescued a Greek ship.

Δημόκριτος τρίτος ἦρξε μάχης, ὅτε παρ Σαλαμίνα

"Ἕλληνες Μήδοις σύμβalon ἐν πελάγει"

πέντε δὲ νῆας ἔλεν δηίων, ἔκην δ' ὑπὸ χεῖρα

ρύσατο βαρβαρικὴν Δωρίδ' ἀλίσκομένην.

κατά περ ἄλλοι νησιῶται 'just as the other islanders had been'. Since the suppression of the Ionic revolt in the year B.C. 497—5 the Persian power had been supreme in the Cyclades, except in a few of the islands near the main-land; and as yet no Hellenic fleet held the Aegean.

5. ἀπίκατο, App. D. II. 2.

6. σπέυσαντος sc. αὐτοῖς 'having urged them on'. Cp. l. 1, 38 τὸν γάμον τοι τοῦτον ἔσπευσα.

9. τὰς καὶ ἐπ' Ἀ. 'the same number as at Artemisium', that is *two*. See p. 1, l. 11. πεντηκόντερον, see on p. 1, l. 12.

13. νησιωτέων, see on p. 23, l. 19. γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ 'earth and water' as symbols of the ownership of the Great King over the entire country. This had been twice demanded: once in B.C. 492 by Darius when all the Islanders had submitted (6, 49); a second time by Xerxes in the early part of this year [B.C. 480], which latter appears to be the occasion here alluded to, although when speaking of it [7, 13, 1, 2] Herodotus says nothing about the Islanders.

## CHAPTER XLVII.

14. ἐντὸς οἰκημένοι Θεσπρωτῶν that is 'South and East of Thresprotia', which is the S.-W. part of Epirus.

16. ὁμονόροντες 'coterminous', for ὁρος = ὅρος see App. A. III. 7.

17. ἐκτὸς to the west. The island of Leucas sent three ships, but no state west of that, except Krotona in Magna Graecia.

19. τῇ Ἑλλάδι. Herodotus does not mean to exclude Krotona from Hellas, rather to mark that her sending this ship was in consequence of a feeling that she belonged to Hellas.

20. τρὶς πυθιονίκης 'who had thrice been victor at the Pythian games'; i.e. twice in the pentathlon and once in the stadium [Paus. 10, 9, 1] see Hist. Ind. *Πύθιον*. The Pythian games were celebrated, in the third year of each Olympiad, on the Cnossaeon plain near Delphi, in honour of Apollo, Artemis, and Latona.

## CHAPTER XLVIII.

21. *τριήρας...πεντηκόντερος*, see on p. 1, l. 12.

26. *ἀριθμὸς...ὁ πᾶς τῶν νεῶν*...Herodotus gives a wrong total—by 12—of the items enumerated in cc. 43—48. He reckons 378; the true result being 366 triremes. The easiest explanation is that he has made a mistake, as is the case in several other places when he gives a series of numbers; or that some error has found its way among the symbols for numbers in the MSS.

Some editors however have accounted for the 12 additional ships by supposing Herodotus to reckon in those ships of the Aeginetans which were ready and fully manned but left to guard the island [p. 23, l. 21]. It is impossible to say with certainty that this is so, but it may be noticed that at Artemisium the Aeginetans supplied 18 ships [p. 1, l. 8] and at Salamis 30, an addition of 12; supposing then that at Salamis *half* their reserve fleet was sent, the 12 would be accounted for. But this must remain mere conjecture. Aeschylus, who was himself present, reckons the number as 310, Persae 342 ὁ πᾶς ἀριθμὸς εἰς τριακάδας δέκα | ναῶν δεκάς δ' ἦν τῶνδε χωρὶς ἔκκριτος. And other authors have given different numbers, varying from 271 to 700. See Introduction.

*πᾶρεξ τῶν πεντηκόντερων* 'without counting the penteconters'. The number of penteconters is 7, viz. Keos 2, Kythnos, Seriphos and Siphnos 1 each, and Melos 2.

## CHAPTER XLIX.

1. *προθέντος* sc. *ἀποφαίνεσθαι*, 'Eurybiades having proposed 25 that any one that chose should express his opinion'. Cf. 9, 27 *προέθηκε λέγειν*. Demosth. 317 *ἀεὶ δ' ἐν κοινῷ τὸ συμφέρον ἢ πόλις προϋτίθει σκοπεῖν*. See on p. 29, l. 12.

2. *τὸν βουλόμενον* 'whoever chose', the regular expression in public meetings and laws for unrestricted license of speech, or of freedom of action in prosecuting etc.

*ὅκου...ποιέεσθαι* 'where he thought was the most suitable place to fight the sea-fight'. Cp. 9, 2 *οὐκ εἴη χῶρος ἐπιτηδεότερος ἐν στρατοπεδεύεσθαι*. The construction is *ὅκου χωρέων* 'in whichever of the localities' *τῶν ἐγκρατέες εἰσὶ* 'of which they had the command', i.e. whether in the gulf of Salamis or further south-west, and nearer the coast of the Isthmus.

4. Ἀττική 'the coast of Attica'. ἀπείτο [ἀπ- ἵημι], had been abandoned', 'was out of the question now'.

6. συνεξέπιπτον 'appeared to agree in recommending'. Stein notices the use of the imperfect here as referring to the fact that this decision was not final, and in fact was reversed. See l. 13.

7. ἐπιλέγοντες τὸν λόγον τόνδε 'they urging the following arguments', the nominative masculine (*nominativus pendens*) is used as though αἱ γινώμαι τῶν λεγόντων were οἱ λέγοντες τὰς γνώμας. ἐπιλέγειν = 'urge in addition to what has been said', 'to allege as an additional argument'. Cp. 7, 147 ἐπιλέγων τὸν λόγον τόνδε 'alleging the following argument' i.e. as an explanation.

9. ἵνα σφί τιμωρή οὐδεμία ἐπιφανήσεται 'where no help could make its appearance'. Cp. 7, 169 ἔσχοντο τῆς τιμωρῆς 'they abstained from giving help': Herod. does not use the word in the sense of 'vengeance'.

10. ἐς τοὺς ἐωυτῶν ἐξοίσονται 'they could land and find themselves among their own men': cp. p. 40, l. 17.

## CHAPTER I.

12. ταῦτα...ἐπιλεγόμενων 'while they were engaged in these considerations'. Cp. with the use of the active ἐπιλέγοντες above in l. 7. The whole body are said ἐπιλέγεσθαι (mid.) to have said over to them and so to 'take into consideration', though individuals ἐπιλέγουσι. Cp. the distinction between ἀπογράφειν and ἀπογράφεσθαι in 7, 100: cp. ποιήσασθαι 9, 15.

14. ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν continuing from c. 34.

17. αὐτῶν ἐκλειοπύτων ἐς Πελοπόννησον 'the inhabitants having abandoned it and fled to the Peloponnese', seven hundred of the Thespians were at Thermopylae and fell there, see c. 25 and 7, 222—6: the rest fled to the Peloponnese, and 1800 were at Plataea in the following year, but were unable to procure ὄπλα, 9, 30.

18. ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας i.e. 'into Attica'. Cp. p. 34, l. 15; 9, 1, 17; so ἐς τὰς Θήβας 'into the Thebaid' 9, 13.

## CHAPTER II.

21. ἀπὸ τῆς διαβάσιος. The passage of the Persian army over the Hellespont took place at the beginning of spring, ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι, 7, 37: if we take this to mean the middle of April, the arrival of the

Persians in Attica will be dated as in the latter part of August. The battle itself took place in the Attic month Boedromion [Aug.—Sept.] for the time for the solemn procession to Eleusis had come, see c. 65.

24. Καλλιιάδew ἄρχοντας 'in the archonship of Kalliades'. The first of the nine archons (Ἀρχων ἐπώνυμος) gave his name to the year.

25. ἐρήμον [in Attic always ἔρημον] 'deserted by its inhabitants'. See c. 41.

26. τὸ ἄστυ properly used here of 'the town' as composed of buildings, πόλις being a town as composed of citizens (πολῖται). So also when Mardonius took Athens next year αἰρέει ἐρήμον τὸ ἄστυ, 9, 3. Stein however regards it as applying to the Acropolis. καὶ τινες ὀλίγους 'and only some few'.

1. ταμίαι τοῦ ἱεροῦ 'the stewards of the treasury of the temple', 26 that is of the public money (τῆς κοινῆς προσόδου) kept in the temple of Athene Polias, whom Demosthenes (1075) calls ταμίαι τῶν τῆς θεοῦ. Although no doubt all public money was withdrawn at this time for the exigencies of the fleet, there would be objects of religious reverence or artistic value still left in the temple, which these stewards declined to abandon. There were ten of them.

2. φραξάμενοι...θύρησί τε καὶ ξύλοισι 'having barricaded the Acropolis with planks and boards': that is, on the west side of the Acropolis where it slopes down towards the Areopagus. The other sides of the Acropolis were either fortified by the Pelasgic wall [5, 64; 6, 137], or were looked upon as safe from the abruptness and steepness of the rock.

3. ἡμύνοντο 'tried to keep off'. ὑπ' ἀσθενείης βίου 'from want of means', cp. 2, 88 τοὺς χρήμασι ἀσθενεστέροις. See also 2, 47.

4. πρὸς δὲ 'and besides', p. 16, l. 8.

5. ἐξευρηκέναι 'that they had discovered the meaning of'. τὸ μαντήϊον. See 7, 141,

τεῖχος Τριτογενεῖ ξύλινον διδοῖ εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς

μοῦνον ἀπόρθητον τελέθειν, τὸ σὲ τέκνα τ' ὀνήσει.

This some interpreted of the fortifications of the Acropolis, others on the suggestion of Themistocles of the fleet, p. 21, l. 19.

7. καὶ αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο εἶναι 'and that this was in their ideas [δὴ, cp. p. 4, l. 12] the refuge meant'. The infinitive εἶναι depends on ἐξευρηκέναι or some word implied in it.

κρησφύγετον 'place of refuge', cp. 9, 15, 96. The derivation of the word is uncertain. The explanation accepted by the ancient Grammarians was 'a place of refuge from the Cretan' [Κρής].

## CHAPTER LII.

9. ἰζόμενοι ἐπὶ 'having gone up and stationed themselves upon'. Cp. p. 37, l. 16 ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἰζοντο. **καταντίον.** The Areopagus is separated from the western end of the Acropolis by a dip in the ground only a few yards wide.

11, 12. ὅπως... ᾤψειαν 'as often as they had set a light to': the optative is *iterative*, or as it is sometimes called of *indefinite frequency*. Cp. 1, 17 ὅπως εἴη ἐν τῇ γῇ καρπὸς ἀδρὸς τηνικαῦτα ἐσέβαλλε τὴν στρατιήν.

15. προδεδωκότος 'had betrayed them', that is, had failed to withstand the assaults of the enemy and had fallen. The barricade therefore was in addition to whatever permanent fortification was already existing at this point, and which still admitted of defence.

16. λόγους 'proposals', 9, 14.

17—19. ἄλλα τε... καὶ δὴ καὶ 'among other measures to which they had recourse they rolled down upon the Barbarians as they approached the gates huge masses of rock'. **δολίτροχος** see Xenoph. Anab. 4, 2, 2. [εἶλω τολῶ, or according to others ὄλος τρέχω.] **τὰς πύλας** the gates in the Pelasgic ring wall facing the Areopagus in front of which the Propylaea afterwards stood.

20. ἐπὶ χρόνον συχνόν, cp. 9, 62 χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν. Also with definite numbers, 9, 8 ἐπὶ δέκα ἡμέρας.

ἀπορίῃσι ἐνέχεσθαι 'was in perplexity', 'was at a stand'. Cp. 9, 98 ἐν ἀπορίῃ εἶχοντο.

## CHAPTER LIII.

22. χρόνῳ 'at length'. Cp. 9, 62 ὡς δὲ χρόνῳ κοτὲ ἐγένετο τὰ σφάλματα χρηστά. ἐκ τῶν ἀπόρων 'in the midst of these difficulties', just as οἱ ἐκ στρατοῦ = 'the men in the army'.

24. τὴν Ἀττικὴν τὴν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ 'Attica on the mainland' as opposed to the Islands, such as Salamis and others. He is again referring to the two oracles given in 7, 140—1.

25. ἔμπροσθε... πρὸ, that is on the northern side, still called the front of the Acropolis.

26. ὕπισθε ‘on the side remote from’. τῆς ἀνόδου ‘the regular pathway up’ the Acropolis.

27. μὴ...ἀναβαίη. For the construction after *ἂν ἤλλπισε*, which is equivalent to a verb of fearing, see G. § 218. κατὰ ταῦτα ‘at that spot’. Ab. quotes 3, 64 ἐτρωματίσθη κατὰ τοῦτο τῇ αὐτὸς πρότερον τὸν θεὸν Ἀπιν ἐπληξε.

1. κατὰ τὸ ἱδὸν ‘by way of the temple of Aglauros’, which was 27 on the northern side of the Acropolis near the cave of Pan.

4. ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. Cobet would omit these words; but they indicate that the Barbarians had not only climbed up to the wall but were actually on the plateau of the Acropolis; see p. 26, l. 9.

5. κατὰ τοῦ τεύχεος ‘down from the wall’.

6. τὸ μέγαρον ‘the shrine of the temple’.

7. ἐτράποντο πρὸς τὰς πύλας, cp. p. 10, l. 22.

8. ταύτας...ἐφόνεον ‘and when they had opened these gates they then began slaughtering the suppliants’ i.e. in the temple. The gates are those of the wall.

## CHAPTER LIV.

12. Ἀρταβάνῳ. He sends to Artabanus because he had at first dissuaded the enterprise [see 7, 10—18] and had been sent back to Susa in charge of the realm in the absence of the king [7, 52—3.]

15. τοὺς φυγάδας the family of the Peisistratidae and their adherents; p. 26, l. 16.

18. ἐνθύμιον ‘a religious scruple’. Cp. 2, 175 ἐνθυμιστὸν ποιησάμενον. Cp. Thucyd. 7, 50, 4 ἐνθύμιον ποιούμενοι. So also the verb ἐνθυμεῖσθαι id. 7, 18, 2. Id. 5, 16 ἐς ἐνθυμίαν ‘by way of exciting a religious scruple’.

## CHAPTER LV.

22. Ἐρεχθέος...νηὸς. See on p. 21, l. 22.

23. ἑλαίη. The sacred olive from which the other sacred olives in Attica were supposed to be cuttings. θάλασσα according to Pausanias [1, 26, 6; 8, 10, 3] was a salt well on the Acropolis which communicated with the Aegean and in which the roar of the ocean could be heard. λόγος ‘story’ or ‘myth’. The story is thus given in Apollodorus [3, 14, 1—3]. “In the time of Cecrops the gods determined to select each a city in which to be separately and



specially honoured. Poseidon came first to Attica, struck the Acropolis with his trident and opened a well (*θάλασσα*) which is now called the well of Erechtheus. Afterwards came Athenè and, calling Cecrops to witness that she took possession of the place, planted an olive. The god and goddess then disputed for the possession of the land. Zeus referred the question to a jury of 12 gods: Cecrops was summoned as a witness to prove that Athene had planted her olive first. The verdict was in her favour: she called the place after her Athens, while Poseidon in wrath flooded the Thriasian plain and submerged Attica."

25. *μαρτύρια θέσθαι* 'alleged as evidence', see above.

26. *κατέλαβε* 'it was the fate of this olive to be burnt'. Cp. 6. 103 *τὸν Κίμωνα κατέλαβε φηγέειν*. Except in this passage Herodotus seems always to use it of *persons*.

28 1. *στελέχεος*, 'trunk' or 'stump'. So in Pindar Nem. 10, 62 *δρὺς ἐν στελέχει ἡμένοι*.

The shooting out of the burnt stump of the Sacred Olive may well have seemed to the Athenians, when they heard of it, as an omen of their future restoration sent by the guardian goddess of the city. The length of the shoot may have grown with the telling, but there is nothing incredible in the main fact. The olive is a tree very tenacious of life and will survive burning in a wonderful manner. Thus Pliny [N. H. 7, 241] says *oliva in totum ambusta revixit*. Cp. Vergil Georg. 2, 303—313. Accordingly the sacred olives (*μορταί*) standing in various parts of Attica were protected from destruction even when reduced to stumps by fire or lightning, and were then called *σηκοί*. See Lysias, Orat. 7 *περὶ τοῦ σηκοῦ*.

## CHAPTER LVI.

4. *ὥς ἔσχε τὰ περὶ...* 'what had happened to the Acropolis'.

6. *τὸ προκείμενον πρῆγμα* 'the proposal before them', i.e. that of abandoning Attica to its fate and removing the fleet close to the Isthmus, see c. 49.

7. *ἤείροντο* 'began hoisting their sails'.

9, 10. *νύξ τε ἐγίνετο, καὶ οἱ διαλυθέντες...ἐσέβαινον* 'after leaving the council they were just going on board their ships as the night was falling': or 'night was just falling as those who had broken up from the council were going on board'. For *τε* and *καὶ*



thus indicating simultaneousness see p. 3, l. 16; p. 47, l. 17; 9, 55  
*ἐς νείκεά τε ἀπίκατο καὶ ὁ κῆρυξ παρίστατο.* 9, 57 οἷ τε ἀμφὶ Ἀμομ-  
*φάρετον παρεγίνοντό σφι καὶ ἡ ἵππος προσεκέετο πᾶσα.*

## CHAPTER LVII.

12. *ἐνθαῦτα δὴ* 'it was in that position of affairs'.

17. *οὐδὲ περὶ μιῆς ἔτι πατρίδος ναυμαχίσεις* 'you will not have any longer a united country to fight for', or 'any country to fight for in future which may be looked upon as one'. He means, 'it will be no longer a question of defending Hellas as such, but each squadron will have to fight separately for its own city'.

20. *ὥστε μὴ οὐ διασκεδασθῆναι* 'from being scattered in every direction'. The double negative accompanies the infinitive after a negative sentence. G. § 263, 2 note.

22. *ἀβουλήσι* a poetical use of the plural in abstract nouns, cp. *ἀπορίσι* p. 26, l. 20. Abicht also compares the frequent Homeric *ἀτασθαλίσι*.

23. *διαχέαι* 'to rescind', 'to annul', as opposed to *ἐκυρώθη* l. 9; lit. 'to pour different ways', and thus 'to obliterate'. In Xenoph. Cyr. 5, 3 of the effect of wet upon the tracks of animals (*τὰ ἔχνη*) opposed to *συνίστησι*.

*ἀναγνώσαι* 'to persuade', both this meaning of *ἀναγνώσκειν* and this form of the 1st aorist are peculiar to the Ionic dialect. This form only occurs in composition, see p. 29, l. 8.

## CHAPTER LVIII.

2. *ἡ ὑποθήκη* 'the suggestion', cp. 1, 156 *ἡσθεὶς τῇ ὑποθήκῃ*. 29

4. *συμμιξίαι* 'to communicate', p. 34, l. 20. This rare meaning is illustrated by various commentators from Theognis 64

*ἀλλὰ δόκει μὲν πᾶσιν ἀπὸ γλώσσης φίλος εἶναι  
 χρῆμα δὲ συμμίξης μηδενὶ μηδ' ὅτιοῦν  
 σπουδαῖον.*

7. *ἑωυτοῦ ποιεύμενος* 'pretending that they (the arguments) were his own', 'adopting as his own'. Cp. 4, 180 *τὸν Δία ἑωυτοῦ μιν ποιήσασθαι θυγατέρα*.

8. *ἀνέγνωσε*, p. 28, l. 23.

## CHAPTER LIX.

12. *προθεῖναι τὸν λόγον* 'introduced the discussion', 'explained for what he had summoned them'. The president of an assembly in opening a debate was said *λόγον προτιθέναι* [Xen. Mem. 4, 2, 3 *τῆς πόλεως λόγον περὶ τίνος προτιθείσης*] or *προτιθέναι* followed by infinitive [p. 25, l. 1]: or *προτιθέναι γνώμας* [Thucyd. 6, 14 *καὶ σὺ, ὦ Ἡρότανι, γνώμας προτίθει αὐθις Ἀθηναίοις*]. Cobet therefore wishes to omit *τόν*, *Variae Lect.* p. 353.

13. *πολλὸς ἦν* 'said a great deal', cp. the Lat. *creber fuisti* 'you often said' Cic. pro Plane. § 83. Cp. 9, 91 *ὥς δὲ πολλὸς ἦν λισσόμενος*, 1, 98 *ἦν πολλὸς ἐπὶ παντός ἀνδρὸς καὶ προβαλλόμενος καὶ αἰνέόμενος*. Cp. also 3, 46 *ἐλεγον πολλὰ οἷα κάρτα δόμενοι*.

17. *ράπιζονται* 'are struck with the wands of the keepers of the course' (*ραβδοχοὶ* or *Ἑλληνοδίκαι* Paus. 6, 2, 1). In Thucydides 5, 20 one Lichas *ἐπὶ τῶν ραβδούχων πληγὰς ἔλαβε* for some breach of the rules. See Holden's note on Plutarch Themist. 11. This anecdote is repeated by Plutarch, as well as the still more celebrated answer to Eurybiades on his raising his stick, 'Strike but hear me', *πάταξον μὲν ἄκουσον δέ*.

*ἀπολύμενος* 'by way of excusing himself'. Sometimes with an acc., Thucyd. 8, 87 *βουλόμενος πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπολύεσθαι τὰς διαβολάς*.

## CHAPTER LX.

20. *ἐκέλγων* p. 28, l. 17.

23. *οὐκ ἔφερέ οἱ κόσμον οὐδένα* 'it had not been becoming in him'. See on p. 31, l. 27. *κατηγορεῖν* sc. *τῶν συμμάχων*.

24. *εἶχετο*, see p. 6, l. 17.

## § 1.

25. *ἐν σοὶ νῦν ἐστὶ* 'it is in your hands', 'it depends on you'. Cp. Soph. Aj. 519 *ἐν σοὶ πᾶσ' ἔγωγε σώζομαι*.

27. *ἀναξεύξης...τὰς νέας* 'remove the ships to the Isthmus'. *ἀναξενγνίναί* is properly 'to harness again'. Elsewhere Herod. has *τὸν στρατὸν* (9, 41) or *τὸ στρατόπεδον* (9, 58) as the object. Its use with ships shews that its original meaning was quite merged in that of 'removal'.

30 1. *ἀντίθεσ...ἀκούσας* 'listen to the alternative courses and contrast their advantages against each other'.

3. τὸ ἥκιστα ἡμῖν σύμφoron ἐστι 'which is as far as possible from being to our advantage considering that the ships which we have are heavier and fewer in number than the enemy'. [The mss. have ἐς τό. I have ventured to omit ἐς which it seems difficult if not impossible to construe. Stein imagines that the copyist may have left out some such verb as ἀνάγειν 'to put out into which open sea'.]

4. βαρυτέρας. According to Plutarch [Them. 14] the Persian ships were heavier and more cumbrous than those of the Greeks. It has been proposed to read βραχυτέρας.

ἀριθμὸν ἐλάσσοντας. The number of the Greek fleet as given in c. 48 was 378, that of the Persian ships [7, 184] was originally 1207; and though that number had been reduced by shipwreck and losses in battle, they were still as vastly superior in numbers to the Greeks as before, owing to reinforcements. See c. 66.

5. τοῦτο δὲ 'and in the next place'. For the phrase τοῦτο μὲν ... τοῦτο δὲ see p. 40, l. 6 and 7, 6; 9, 7 and 27. In this case the first of the antithetical sentences is introduced simply by μὲν in l. 2.

8. αὐτὸς ἄξεις 'you yourself will be the instrument of bringing them against the Peloponnese'.

9. κινδυνεύσεις... Ἑλλάδι 'and what you will stake on the event will be the safety of the whole of Greece'. κινδυνεύειν 'to be in danger' may stand (1) with infin. κινδυνεύσει ἀποβαλεῖν τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν p. 33, l. 7, (2) with prep. περὶ ἐκείνης κινδυνεύειν 8, 74, (3) as here with dat. of object risked, cp. 7, 209 κινδυνεύειν τῇ ψυχῇ.

## § 2.

10. τοσάδε χρηστὰ 'the advantages which I will enumerate'.

12. τὰ οἰκότα [οἰκῶς = εἰκῶς App. E. (f)] 'what we have a right to expect'.

14. πρὸς ἡμέων 'on our side', 'in our favour'. Cf. Eurip. Alc. 57 πρὸς τῶν ἐχόντων, Φοῖβε, τὸν νόμον τίθης. Cf. p. 12, l. 16.

15. περιγίνεται present for certain future, 'will be saved'. For the meaning cp. περιεῖναι p. 2, l. 8.

ὑπεκκείται [= ὑπ-εκ-κείται used as pass. of ὑπεκτιθέσθαι 'have been removed'] see c. 41.

16. καὶ μὴν 'again'. καὶ τόδε 'even the point which you care most for', i.e. the safety of the Peloponnese.

17. τοῦ καὶ περιέχεσθε 'which you actually cleave to', 'which

you value'. Cp. 7, 160 τῆς ἡγεμονίης περιέχσθε, but in 9, 57 it is used without any case following. **καὶ** emphatic, p. 19, l. 25.

ὁμοίως... Ἰσθμῷ 'if you stay where you are you will be quite as much fighting for the Peloponnesus as (καὶ) you would near the isthmus'. For καὶ cp. p. 23, l. 17.

19. σφέας i.e. the Persians, cp. l. 8.

### § 3.

21. ὑμῖν *ethic dative* 'you won't have them coming to the isthmus'. For παρῆναι ἐς cp. 6, 24 παρῆν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, Arist. Plut. 411 κατακλίνειν αὐτὸν εἰς Ἀσκληπιοῦ.

23. ἐκαστέρῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς may mean 'farther than Attica', or, 'farther into Attica', cp. 9, 14 ἐκαστάτῳ τῆς Εὐρώπης.

24. κερδανέομεν 'we shall be the gainers by the survival of Megara, Salamis, and Aegina'. κερδαίνειν is the opposite of ζημιῶσθαι.

25. λόγιον 'an oracle', referring again to the oracle given in 7, 141 and especially to the line ὃ θεὸς Σαλαμῖς, ἀπολεῖς δὲ σὺ τέκνα γυναικῶν. See on p. 21, l. 19.

27. ὥς τὸ ἐπίπαν 'as a general rule'. The full sentence is οἰκότα βουλευομένοισι οἰκότα ἐθέλει γίνεσθαι 'to reasonable plans reasonable success usually comes'. ἐθέλει 'is wont', cp. 7, 157 τῷ εὖ βουλεῖθόντι πρήγματι τελευτῇ ὥς τὸ ἐπίπαν χρηστὴ ἐθέλει ἐπιγίνεσθαι.

28. οὐδὲ ὁ θεὸς... γνώμας 'but when men counsel ill heaven itself is not wont either to further human designs'. προσχωρεῖν πρὸς 'to join as an ally', cp. Thucyd. 1, 103, 4 προσεχώρησαν καὶ Μεγαρῆς Ἀθηναίους ἐς συμμαχίαν. Id. 3, 61, 3 προσεχώρησαν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν πολλὰ ἡμᾶς ἐβλαπτον.

## CHAPTER LXI.

31 2. ἐπεφέρετο 'attacked', 'inveighed against'. In the literal sense of 'attack' cp. p. 47, l. 19, Thucyd. 4, 67, 4 τοῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὀπλίταις ἐπιφερομένοις βεβαίους τὰς πύλας παρέσχον.

3. οὐκ ἔων 'forbidding', cp. 9, 2. ἐπιψηφίζειν 'to put the vote to', i.e. 'to allow a vote to a cityless man'. This word is applied to him who puts a subject to the vote, the president of an assembly, cp. Thucyd. 6, 14, 1 σὺν, ὃ πρύτανι, ταῦτα ἐπιψήφισε καὶ γνώμας προτίθει αὐθις Ἀθηναίους. There does not seem any example of its use

with dative of those to whom the vote is put earlier than Lucian. Many therefore interpret this 'Don't put this to the vote for a cityless man', i.e. at his instance. This construction is quite as difficult as the other, and produces a less satisfactory sense.

4, 5. πόλιν γὰρ...συμβάλλεσθαι 'for he bade Themistocles not deliver a vote with the rest unless he could show that he had a city', i.e. unless he could show that he appeared for some existing city as its envoy. For οὕτω after a participle cp. p. 12, l. 25.

For γνώμας συμβάλλεσθαι *sententias dicere* see 5, 92, 1 εἶχετε ἂν περὶ αὐτοῦ γνώμας ἀμείνονας συμβαλέσθαι ἥπερ νῦν. (St.)

6. κατεῖχοντο 'was actually in possession of the enemy'.

10. ἔστ' ἂν διηκόσiai νέες... 'as long as they had 200 ships'. The point of Themistocles' retort is shown more at length by Plutarch. 'If you go away and desert us a second time, it will soon be heard in Greece that the Athenians have possession of a free city and a territory as good as that which they lost'. Plutarch however seems to combine the two councils of Herodotus into one meeting [Them. 11].

## CHAPTER LXII.

14. ἐπεστραμμένα sc. ἔπη, 'earnestly', cp. 1, 30 εἶρετο ἐπιστρέφως. Cf. 7, 160 ἐπειδὴ ὥρα ἀπεστραμμένους τοὺς λόγους τοῦ Σνάγκρου [where some read ἐπεστρ., but the analogy of ἀποβλέπειν 'to look earnestly at' from the notion of looking away from everything else will serve to justify the ἀπεστρ.].

σὺν...εἰ δὲ μὴ... 'If you will remain and act like a brave man,—well and good, but if not'—for this *aprosiōphesis* followed by εἰ δὲ μὴ cf. Aristoph. Plut. 468

κἂν μὲν ἀποφῆνω μόνην  
ἀγαθῶν ἀπάντων οὔσαν αἰτίαν ἐμέ  
ὑμῖν, δι' ἐμέ τε ζῶντας ὑμᾶς· εἰ δὲ μὴ  
ποιεῖτον ἤδη τοῦθ' ὅτι ἂν ὑμῖν δοκῇ.

'If I prove to you that I am the author of all blessings to you, and that it is by me you live,—well: otherwise do what you please to me'. See Goodwin's *Moods and Tenses*, p. 112, note 2.

15, 16. τὸ πᾶν τοῦ πολέμου 'the whole fate of the war'.

18. τοὺς οἰκέτας 'our families', see p. 23, l. 9.

19. Σίριν τὴν ἐν Ἰταλίῃ, for Siris see Historical Index. The idea of finding in the west a new home and new prosperity more than once reappeared in Athenian history. This perhaps influenced Pericles in promoting the colony of Thuri in B.C. 444, and caused the readiness of the Athenians to interfere in the quarrels of Syracuse and Leontini in Sicily in B.C. 427, which eventually led to such disasters. A reported migration of Ionians to Siris was probably the ground on which Themistocles based the claim of Athens to a hold upon Siris. The notion of a whole Hellenic community migrating *en masse* to the west was not a new one in Hellenic history, see the Story of the people of Phokaea I, 163—7.

20. λόγια, another instance of the use made by Themistocles of the popular belief in oracles, noticed by Plutarch when he was inducing the Athenians to leave their town: Them. 10 σημεία δαίμνια καὶ χρησμοὶς ἐπῆγεν αὐτοῖς. We cannot tell to what particular oracles he refers: but the collection which went by the name of Bakis contained oracular verses referring to a large number of different matters and in all probability some referring to Italy and Sicily.

## CHAPTER LXIII.

23. ἀγεδιδάσκετο 'began to be convinced'.

24. δοκέειν δέ μοι. See p. 12, l. 14.

27. ἐγίνοντο. The words ἀπολιπόντων Ἀθηναίων 'if the Athenians abandoned them', form the protasis of a condition, the apodosis is ἐγίνοντο without ἂν. This omission of ἂν gives a more emphatic expression to the certainty of the result; just as in Latin the corresponding tenses of the indicative are used for the subjunctive as in Verg. Aen. 2, 54 *si mens non laeta fuisset Impulerat* (for impulisset); and just as we say, 'I had done so' for 'I should have done so'. We must also note that although the sentence is in the form of a *past condition* it is so by anticipation: the contingency is really one of the future.

32 1, 2. ταύτην...διαναυμαχέειν 'he decides upon (selects) this decision, namely, that he should remain there and fight the battle out'. Like διαυάχεσθαι [Xen. Oecon. I, 23] διαναυμαχέειν means 'to fight to the end', and so is rightly used of the main battle as opposed to any skirmish.



## CHAPTER LXIV.

3. ἔπεισι ἀκροβολισάμενοι 'after this skirmish of words'. The meaning of ἀκροβολίζεσθαι is to skirmish as opposed to coming to close quarters, see Thucyd. 3, 73; the metaphor is similar to that in p. 41, l. 15 ὠθισμός λόγων.

5, 6. τε...καὶ see p. 3, l. 16. σεισμός. See on p. 20, l. 4.

8. ἐπικαλέσασθαι 'to summon the Aeakidae to come as allies to their aid'. For the worship of Heroes see on p. 20, l. 16.

9. ἔδοξε...ἐποίουν. Notice the tenses, the aorist of a single complete act, the imperfect of the beginning of a series: 'when they had once determined on these things they also set about doing them'. Ab. and St. compare 7, 128 ὥς δὲ ἐπεθύμησε καὶ ἐποίηε ταῦτα.

11. ἐπὶ Αἰακὸν 'to fetch Aeakos'. Cf. Arist. Ranae 111 ἡνίκ' ἦλθες ἐπὶ τὸν Κέρβερον. See on 9, 44.

## CHAPTER LXV.

14. φυγάς, of the Athenian exiles with Xerxes, see p. 27, l. 15.

15. ἐκέλευτο. See p. 17, l. 21.

16. ἐρῆμος Ἀθηναίων. See p. 25, l. 25.

19. ἀπὸ Ἐλευσίνος...τρισμυρίων. On the sixth day of the great Eleusinia a solemn procession went from Athens to Eleusis, carrying a statue of Iacchus (Bacchus) adorned with myrtle and torch in hand, along the sacred road which traversed the Thriasian plain, raising joyous shouts of Iacche! oh Iacche! [See Arist. Ran. 316.] Not only Athenians, but all other Greeks also might share in ceremonies at these mysteries, and possibly a crowd of 30,000 persons might at times have been present at them. If the story is in any way true, it shews how important they were considered, if even at this time of danger and national disaster some worshippers were found to keep up the celebration as best they might; just as for several years during the Peloponnesian war, when the inroads of the Spartans made it dangerous or impossible to go along the sacred way as usual, the Athenians who wished to join in the initiations were conveyed by sea to Eleusis, until in B.C. 407 Alcibiades on his recall escorted the sacred pro-



cession once more by land at the head of an army [Xen. Hellen. 1, 4, 21]. We must regard the number (*τρισμυρίων*) as not meant to be exact but to indicate a large crowd.

21. *πρόκατε* 'forthwith' [*πρό*], for the suffix *τε* see on p. 10, l. 9.

23. *ἀδαίμονα τῶν ἱρῶν*, that is, he had not been initiated, and did not know the sacred song which was sung only by the initiated.

For the discussion of the ceremonies at and meaning of the Eleusinian Mysteries a dictionary of antiquities must be consulted. It is enough to say that as they were probably connected with a more ancient form of religion than prevailed in Greece, so they were almost the last of all heathen ceremonies to die out before the advance of Christianity. They embraced a mystic worship of Nature-powers as represented by corn and wine [Demeter and Iacchus], and initiation in them was held not only in some way to purify the character, but to speak to the devout of another life of hope beyond the grave. This may be illustrated by two of the very numerous passages referring to them in ancient literature. 'Blessed is he' (says Pindar, fr. 102) 'whoso shall not go beneath the hollow earth until he hath beheld them! He knoweth of the end of life that by God's grace it is but a beginning'. 'They who share in these initiations' (says Isocrates, Panegy. 6) 'have sweeter hopes concerning life's end and all time to come'.

33 2. *θεῖον* 'supernatural'.

3. *ἐς τιμωρίην Ἀθηναίοισι* 'to protect the Athenians', see on p. 25, l. 9.

4. *κατασκήψη*. Cf. *ἐνέσκηψαν* p. 20, l. 23.

7. *κινδυνεύσει ἀποβαλεῖν*. For constructions of *κινδυνεύειν* see p. 30, l. 9.

9. *τῇ Μητρὶ καὶ τῇ Κούρῃ* 'to Demeter and Persephonè'. [Cobet would read *Δήμητρι* in which he is supported by the best ms.] One of the objects of the Eleusinian mysteries was supposed to be that of celebrating the wanderings of Demeter in search of her daughter (*ἡ κόρη*).

10. *ὁ βουλόμενος*, see on p. 25, l. 2.

18. *ἐκ* 'after', p. 7, l. 10.

19, 20. *ἐπὶ Σαλαμῖνος ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον* 'in the direction of Salamis, so as to rest over the camp of the Greeks'. For this

juxtaposition of ἐπὶ with different cases cp. 9, 47 ὑπὶσω ἦγε τοὺς Σπαρτιήτας ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας· ὥς δ' αὐτως καὶ ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου, where the distinction of meaning is the same 'to the left wing' and 'towards the left wing'. The Greeks who were not on board were encamped in Salamis.

22. μέλλοι 'was destined', p. 2, l. 3.

23. καταπτόμενος 'appealing to', cp. 6, 68 θεῶν καταπτόμενος.

## CHAPTER LXVI.

25. θηησάμενοι, see c. 24.

28. ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, p. 12, l. 14. For the numbers see on p. 30, l. 4.

2. ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας 'into Attica', p. 25, l. 18.

34

4. ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος cc. 12—13.

8. πανστρατιῇ. See p. 15, l. 2.

11. πλὴν τῶν πέντε... οὐνόματα [App. A. III. 7]. The five islands mentioned in c. 46, Naxos, Melos, Kythnos, Seriphos, Siphnos. Notice that Herod. speaks of these small islands as πόλεις 'states'.

13. ἐσωτέρω 'further south', cp. ἔσω p. 2, l. 23. For the gen. τῆς Ἑλλάδος see on p. 30, l. 23.

## CHAPTER LXVII.

15. ἀπὸκατο, App. D. II. 2. ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας see p. 25, l. 18.

17. ἐκαραδόκεον 'were watching', cf. 7, 163 καραδοκήσονται τὴν μάχην ᾗ πεσέεται, cp. ib. 168; properly 'to watch with outstretched head', like a combatant looking out for his enemy's blow, cp. Eurip. I. T. 133 καραδοκῶν τὰπίοντα τραύματα.

19. κατέβη... ἐπὶ τὰς νέας 'went down to the shore (from the town) to where the ships lay'.

20. συμμῖξαι 'to converse with', p. 29, l. 4.

21. προῖξετο 'he sat down in state', 'in a conspicuous place'.

23. ταξίарχοι, used generally by Herodotus of officers in the land force, see 9, 42, 53: but in 7, 99 it is also used of naval officers. He uses a Greek title for a certain rank, though that may not have been the exact title used in the several fleets. In Athens the taxiarchs were tribal officers next in rank to the Strategi.

ὥς σφι βασιλεὺς... ἐδεδώκεε 'according to the rank the king had assigned to each'. One of the special ways in which an

Eastern king rewarded his subjects was by assigning a place more or less near himself. Cf. Xen. Oecon. 4, 8 οὗς μὲν ἂν αἰσθάνηται τῶν ἀρχόντων συνοικουμένην τε τὴν χώραν παρεχομένους καὶ ἐνεργὸν οὕσαν τὴν γῆν...τούτοις μὲν χώραν τε ἄλλην προστίθῃσι...καὶ ἔδραις ἐντίμοις γεραίρει. Many references in the Old Testament to this custom will occur to the reader. The kings of Sidon and Tyre are in the place of honour here because the Phoenicians were the most important providers of ships. See 7, 96.

25. μετὰ...ἐπὶ adverbial, or they may be regarded as separated by tmesis from the verbs ἔζετο, ἔζοντο. Cp. p. 17, l. 24. The different grades indicated by the two prepositions also should be noticed, 'next', and 'following in order'.

27. ἀποπειρώμενος 'by way of ascertaining the opinion of each'. See p. 5, l. 22 and 9, 21.

## CHAPTER LXVIII.

35 2. κατὰ πᾶντὸ γνώμην ἐξεφέροντο 'were unanimous in the opinion which they expressed'. The force of the middle in this phrase is that of producing as their own; cp. 5, 36 where the same expression is used under similar circumstances.

### § 1.

5. εἶπαι. App. E. 2. The infinitive for imperative, cp. p. 11, l. 4. [Stein reads εἰπεῖν with the MSS.]

6. κακίστη 'the most cowardly', cp. ἐθελοκακεῖν p. 12, l. 11.

8. δέσποτα. τὴν δὲ ἐοῦσαν 'My lord, I on the other hand must declare my real opinion'. For the reading of this passage see notes on next. The δὲ at the beginning of such a speech implies a contrast with what has gone before. Stein shews its force by quoting 1, 32; 3, 82; 8, 137, 142, in which passages it as here introduces a similar speech, and comes immediately after the vocative of the person addressed.

For the meaning of ἐοῦσαν 'real' cp. 1, 95 τὸν ἰόντα λόγον λέγειν. Artemisia hints that the others have not spoken their *real* opinion.

9. τὰ τυγχάνω φρονέουσα ἄριστα in apposition to γνώμην, 'namely the ideas which I actually entertain as being best calculated to promote your wishes'.

10. καὶ τοι τάδε 'well then, this is what I say'.

11. ποιέω (al. ποίεε), see App. D. III. footnote 8.

13, 14. πάντως 'at all'. ἀνακινδυνεύειν 'to undergo a risk', implying that such action is superfluous or at least voluntary. See 9, 26 χρεὼν...τὸν στρατὸν τῷ στρατῷ μὴ ἀνακινδυνεύειν συμβάλλοντα.

17. ἀπήλλαξαν 'came off', 'fared', a common use of ἀπαλλάσσειν, cp. 5, 63 ὁ στόλος οὕτως ἀπήλλαξε, still more common in the mid. and pass. Cp. Aristoph. Plut. 271 μῶν ἀξιοῖς ἀπαλλαγήναι ἀξήμιος.

### § 2.

19. ἀντιπολέμων = πολεμίων, cp. 7, 236. It is a word not used by Attic writers.

20. τὰς νέας αὐτοῦ ἔχης πρὸς γῆ. The policy of keeping the fleet entire and in close proximity to the army had been urged on Xerxes before by Achaemenes, see 7, 236.

24. διασκεδᾷς fut. σκεδά[σ]ω. κατὰ πόλιν. Cp. the fears expressed by Mnesiphilos, p. 28, l. 18—22.

25. πάρα = πάρεστι.

26. νήσῳ, Salamis.

1. ἀτρεμείν 'that they will remain where they are'. App. D, 36 III. d, note 2.

ἐκείθεν that is from the Peloponnese.

### § 3.

5. προσδηλήσεται 'may damage the land force besides'.

πρὸς *adverb.* See p. 16, l. 8. τόδε ἐς θυμὸν βάλεν 'reflect upon this truth', cp. 7, 51 ἐς θυμὸν βαλεῖ τὸ παλαιὸν ἔπος. For βάλεν see App. D, footnote 9.

8. σοι, note emphatic position of pronoun. ἐν συμμάχων λόγῳ 'in the category of allies'. Artemisia does not venture to speak against the Persians, but has a real contempt for these other non-Hellenes; though the Egyptians are said to have borne off the prize of valour at Artemisium [c. 17].

## CHAPTER LXIX.

13. συμφορὴν ἐποιεῦντο. See p. 6, l. 7.

15. οὐκ ἔα 'dissuades', p. 31, l. 3. ἀγαιόμενοι [ἀγάομαι] τε

καὶ φθονέοντες 'who were ill disposed to and jealous of her'. Cf. 6, 61 φθόνῳ καὶ ἔγῃ χρέομενος.

16. ἅτε ἐν πρώτοις τιμημένης 'because she enjoyed the highest position in the king's esteem'. The introduction of the gen. abs. with ἅτε, instead of a participle agreeing with αὐτῇ, shows that the writer is giving his own explanation of their jealousy. Cp. p. 47, l. 14. ἐν πρώτοις may be either masc. or neut. cp. Thuc. 4, 105 ἐνασθαι ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις τῶν ἡπειρωτῶν and id. 7, 27, 4 ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ἐκόλωσε τὰ πνεύματα [ἡ Δεκλία]. For omission of article in this idiom see instances in L. and Sc.

17. διὰ 'above', cp. p. 19, l. 25. τῇ κρίσει 'this expression of opinion', *sententia* [but Stein reads ἀνακρίσει 'contradiction', 'opposition', quoting Plato 176 and 277. See note on text].

21. τοῖσι πλείοσι 'the majority'.

22. καταδόξας seems only a strengthened δόξας, 'having made up his mind', cp. p. 2, l. 22 and 9, 57.

23. τότε δέ 'whereas on this occasion'. ἐθελοκακέειν, p. 12, l. 11: the present is here used as an historical tense.

## CHAPTER LXX.

25. παρήγγλλον 'where they (the leaders) passed the word round to put to sea'.

26. παρεκρίθησαν 'were ranged in line of battle', the forces of the two parts of the word are—ἐκρίθησαν 'they were separated', παρὰ 'in lateral order': so that it is a proleptic word,—'they were so separated as to be in line'.

37 3. ἐπεγένετο 'came down upon them while thus engaged', 'overtook them'.

4. οὐκ ἤκιστα, p. 21, l. 20.

5, 6. ἀρρώδεον ὅτι... ναυμαχέειν μέλλοιεν... πολιορκήσονται 'But they were alarmed (at the thought) that they were going to fight for Attica while fixed at Salamis, and that if conquered they would be caught in the Island and subjected to a siege'. 'Verbs of fearing as they imply *thought* sometimes take the construction of ordinary indirect discourse', and with ὅτι introducing a *causal* sentence cp. Xen. Cyr. 3, 1, 1 ἐφοβέτο ὅτι ἀφελήσεσθαι ἔμελλε τὰ βασίλεια οἰκοδομεῖν ἀρχόμενος. Goodwin, *Moods and Tenses*, p. 85, 6. The expression ναυμαχέειν μέλλοιεν is to be noted as equivalent to a future coordinate with πολιορκήσονται, the optative is used as representing

the thoughts of another, just as the future optative is used for the indic. fut. in oblique oration. The variation to the indicative in the second clause is a matter of idiom like the variation of the moods in two final clauses, both being grammatically admissible; see p. 4, l. 11; p. 40, l. 12.

8. ἀπολαμφθέντες 'cut off from retreat'.

## CHAPTER LXXI.

11. ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον 'to invade the Peloponnese': but they got no farther than the Megarid, see 9, 14.

16. ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμόν ἔζοντο. See p. 26, l. 9.

18. συγχώσαντες 'having blocked up with earthworks', see on p. 15, l. 27.

20. οἰκοδόμεον 'they began to build'. The wall which crossed the Isthmus at a point about seven miles east of Corinth was finished in the following spring, see 9, 8. The distance across is about five miles.

22. ἦνετο 'was being wrought to perfection'. The verb ἄνω is nearly confined to poetry, the more common form ἀνύω being generally used by Attic prose writers.

23. φορμολ 'baskets' [Rt. φερ, φέρω, φορέω, φορός], it was also used as a measure of corn about equal to a medimnus. ψάμμον. The sand, as Stein remarks, was for the double purpose of making mortar and filling up the space left between the two sides of the wall to be made into a solid mass of rubble.

24, 25. ἐλίνυν 'rested', cf. 1, 67. A verb confined to poetry and Ionic prose. νυκτός...ἡμέρης, p. 4, l. 16.

## CHAPTER LXXII.

26. πανδημὶ 'with every available man', see πανστρατιῇ p. 15, l. 2; p. 21, l. 6.

4. ὑπεραρρωδέοντες τῇ Ἑλλάδι. Stein regards this dat. as 38 anomalous quoting Eurip. Suppl. 344 ἡ τεκοῦσα χίπερορρωδοῦσ' ἐμοῦ, but it may be looked upon as a case of a dative of advantage, like the converse ἐλπίδα ἔχων σωτηρίας τῇ Ἑλλάδι. G. § 184, 3.

6. Κάρνεια. This Spartan festival [see Hist. Index] began on the 7th of the month Metageitnion [the Spartan Karneios] and

lasted to the 16th. It was therefore late in August. παροιχώκεε ἤδη 'had been concluded by this time', and therefore—Herodotus means—the other Peloponnesian states had no excuse for not appearing. The Karneia had before been alleged at Sparta as an excuse for delay, see 7, 206.

## CHAPTER LXXIII.

9. αὐτόχθονα opposed to ἐπήλυθα in l. 14. Those people, of whose coming to a land no history or tradition existed, were considered to be αὐτοχθόνες 'natives of the soil', in this case the Pelasgi. Thus the Karians claimed to be autochthonous of Asia Minor (1, 171), and the Athenians of Attica, of which the symbol was the grasshopper formerly worn by them [Thucyd. 1, 6, 3]. So too the Sikani are said to be αὐτοχθόνες of Sicily [id. 6, 2, 2]. In 9, 73 αὐτόχθων is used just like our 'native'.

12. οὐκ ἐξεχώρησε did not quit the Peloponnesus, that is at the coming of the Dorians. See Historical Index s. v. *Dorians*.

13. τὴν ἀλλοτρίην 'the land of others'. The Achaiοί, a name which in Homer is used often as a general appellation for Greeks, seem to have lived in southern Peloponnesus, and retreating before the conquering Dorians settled in the district along the north coast of the Peloponnesus, hence called Achaia, anciently named Aegialos [Paus. 5, 1, 1].

14. ἐπήλυθα 'subsequent immigrations'.

18. Παρωρεῖται πάντες 'to the Lemnians belong all the towns of the Paroreats', that is the 'mountain peoples' of the district Triphylia in Elis. The word only means 'dwellers by the mountains', but came to be used as a geographical term for this district, cp. 4, 148.

οἱ δὲ Κυνούριοι...Ἴωνες 'The Kynurii seem to be the only people who are at once Ionians and autochthonous'. As Stein says, two ideas are involved in the sentence: 'the Kynurii seem to be Ionians, and in that case are the only ones still remaining in the Peloponnesus'.

20. ἐκδεδωρίευνται...χρόνου 'have been thoroughly Doricised both by being under the rule of Argives and by the lapse of time'. The difficulty of the sentence lies in the fact that ἐπὶ has to be supplied before τοῦ χρόνου from the previous line, and yet is in a different sense; ἐπὶ Ἀργείων is a genitive of the agent depending



upon ἀρχόμενοι, while ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου is instrumental. Cobet [*Variae Lect.* p. 424] proposes therefore to omit ἀρχόμενοι as having been a gloss explaining ὑπὸ Ἀργείων, [sc. ἀρχόμενοι,] which was then introduced into the text.

21. ἔόντες Ὀρνεῖται καὶ περίοικοι 'being in the position of Orneats or perioeki'. The inhabitants of Orneae resisting the Dorian conquerors were reduced to the position of the Spartan *perioeki* or unenfranchised farmers; and thence the name was applied to all others remaining in the country in the same position. Cp. the derivation given by some of the word Helotes, viz. from Helos on the Laconian gulf. The Argives seem finally to have destroyed Orneae in B.C. 416 [Thucyd. 6, 7, 2].

23. παρέξ τῶν, by attraction for παρέξ ἐκείνων ἄς. ἐκ τοῦ μέσου κατέατο [App. D. II. a] 'held aloof from the war'. Cp. p. 12, l. 7.

24. κατήμενοι 'by so holding aloof they were really medising'.

## CHAPTER LXXIV.

25. τοιοῦτῳ πόνῳ συνέστασαν 'were engrossed in the active labour I have described', i.e. in building the wall. Cp. 9, 89 λιμῶ συνστάντας καὶ καμάτῳ. Cf. 7, 170.

26. ἅτε περὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἰῆδη δρόμον θέοντες 'seeing that their all was now at stake'. Herodotus is fond of this metaphor from the race-course, see 9, 37 ὥστε τρέχων περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς. 7, 57 περὶ ἑωυτοῦ τρέχειν. Cf. Aristoph. Vesp. 376 ποιήσω περὶ ψυχῆς δρόμον δραμεῖν.

1. ἐλλάμψεσθαι 'that they would distinguish themselves'. Cp. 39 1, 80 τῷ ἵππικῳ ἐλλάμπεσθαι.

2. ταῦτα refers to the facts mentioned in cc. 71—3, viz. the advance of the Persians towards the Peloponnesians, the abstention of many of the Peloponnesian states, and yet the comparative security of the peninsula by the rapid completion of the wall; in spite of this reassuring circumstance however the fleet were still (ὅμως) alarmed for the safety of the Peloponnesians. [The comparative obscurity of this train of thought has suggested to some the reading ὁμῶς, while Abicht thinks that we should probably read ὁμοίως.]

5. σιγῇ λόγον ἐποιέετο 'began saying under his breath', or 'secretly', cp. 2, 140 σιγῇ τοῦ Αἰθίοπος 'without the knowledge

of Aethiops', *ἐκ τῆς Αἰθιοπίας*. The use of *σιγῇ* in this adverbial sense of 'secretly' accounts for its employment in what seems a kind of bull in such an expression as *σιγῇ λόγον ποιῆσθαι* [=λέγειν].

*ὦνμα ποιεύμενοι* = *θαυμάζοντες* 'expressing their surprise at', cp. p. 41, l. 25. For *ποιῆσθαι* 'regard' see p. 2, l. 7.

6. *ἐξερράγη* 'it (the discontent) burst out'. Cp. 6, 129 οὐ βουλόμενος ἐκραγῆναι ἐς αὐτόν.

7. *σύλλογός τε δὴ* 'and a meeting for debate actually took place'.

8. *οἱ μὲν* sc. *ἔλεγον*. For this construction St. compares Soph. Ant. 259 *λόγοι δ' ἐν ἀλλήλοισιν ἐρρέθουν κακοί, | φύλαξ ἐλέγχων φύλακα*.

9. *περὶ ἐκείνης κινδυνεύειν* 'and to fight in defence of it'. This is not a construction of *κινδυνεύειν* with preposition = 'to hazard' [see p. 30, l. 9], but *κινδυνεύειν* here = *μάχεσθαι* and *περὶ* 'in behalf of', cp. Il. 12, 243 *εἰς οἰωνὸς ἄμιστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης*.

*πρὸ*, p. 3, l. 6.

*Ἀθηναῖοι δέ*, sc. *ἐκέλευον*.

## CHAPTER LXXV.

13. *ἔσσοῦτο τῇ γνῶμῇ* 'was outvoted', for the opposite *νικᾶν* see on p. 5, l. 15.

19. *Θεσπία ἐπόησε* 'caused him to be admitted citizen of Thespieae'. *ὡς ἐπέδεκοντο* 'when they were admitting new citizens'. Of the Thespians 700 had fallen at Thermopylae [7, 222], the Persians had burnt their town [c. 50], and we find afterwards that they were so reduced that they could not supply themselves with arms at Plataea [9, 30]: that they should enrol new citizens therefore when the troubles were over was natural; and Themistocles was so influential in Greece in the period immediately following, that his recommendation would be enough to obtain admission of his friend.

21. *ἔλεγε...τάδε*. The whole incident is graphically described in the Persae of Aeschylus, 351 sq. See Introduction.

24. *φρονέων τὰ βασιλέος* 'well disposed to the king's interests'. p. 18, l. 12. Notice the omission of the article with *βασιλέος*. The king of Persia is spoken of as *βασιλεύς*.

25. *κατύπερθε*, p. 30, l. 26.

27. παρέχει 'you have an opportunity', for this impersonal use see p. 5, l. 1.

1. τὰ ὑμέτερα φρονέοντας. See above p. 39, l. 25 and 7, 102 40 τὰ σὰ φρονέειν.

## CHAPTER LXXVI.

4. ἀπαλλάσσετο 'departed', though the act. is used in p. 35, l. 17 in sense of 'came off'.

5, 7. τοῦτο μὲν...τοῦτο δὲ 'in the first place', 'in the second place', see on p. 30, l. 5.

7. ἐπειδὴ ἐγίνοντο μέσαι νύκτες 'towards midnight'. According to Aeschylus [Pers. 366] the orders were to do this εὖτ' ἂν φλέγων ἀκτῖσιν ἥλιος χθόνα λήξῃ. For νύκτες 'the night hours', cp. Arist. Nub. 2 τὸ χρῆμα τῶν νυκτῶν ὅσον ἀπέραντον. This particular phrase 'midnight' is always without the article, see Arist. Vesp. 218 ἀπὸ μέσων νυκτῶν γε παρακαλοῦσ' αἶε.

8. τὸ ἀπ' ἐσπέρης κέρας 'the western or right wing'. The sense of ἀπὸ like that of ἐκ in p. 26, l. 22 is 'on the side of'.

9. κυκλούμενοι 'by way of encircling the Greeks'. The Persian ships were stationed all along the Attic coast from Phalerum as well as on the S. coast of Salamis. This extreme left wing was now brought up the Saronic gulf so as to rest upon the east coast of the Island of Salamis, while, according to Aeschylus (Pers. 374), a detachment went to the west of the island to close up the passage between it and the Megarid, though Herod. does not mention this movement directly; the right wing was moved closer to the Peiraeus, and the little island (νησίς) of Psyttaleia, between Salamis and the mainland, was occupied by troops to the number of 4000 (Paus. 1, 36, 2), who according to Aeschylus were the flower of the Persian army [Persae 439].

10. Κέον τε καὶ τὴν Κυνόσουραν. Stein suggests that these names apply to the same place, see Hist. Index. For this use of τε...καὶ cp. p. 22, l. 20 Δωρικὸν τε καὶ Μακεδνὸν ἔθνος.

13. ἀνήγον...ἵνα δὴ...ἔξῃ...δοίεν. For the change of mood see on p. 4, ll. 4 and 10.

14. δοῦναι τίσιν 'to give satisfaction', on the analogy of δίκην δοῦναι. Elsewhere τίσις is used in the sense of 'punishment inflicted': see 1, 86; 8, 106; or of 'revenge taken', 8, 105.

16—21. ὥς belongs to ἐνθαῦτα μάλιστα ἐξοισομένων 'on the ground that, whenever the sea fight did take place, the men and wrecks would be sure to be washed ashore there more than anywhere', p. 42, l. 21. The final clause after ἀπεβιβάζον is ἵνα... περιποιῶσι, and for the subj. mood used *dramatically* (that is, as representing the actual thoughts of the person concerned) after historic tense see G. § 216, 2.

For the meaning of ἐξοισομένων see p. 25, l. 10.

22. τῆς νυκτὸς 'that night', the gen. of time within which, p. 37, l. 25, G. § 179. οὐδὲν ἀποκοιμηθέντες 'without taking any interval of sleep'. The meaning of the compound ἀποκοιμᾶσθαι seems to be that of sleeping as a relief from other employments, 'to get a snatch of sleep', and thus to be naturally used of the sleep taken in the midst of military duties. See Arist. Vesp. 211, where the old man's servants have been keeping watch for Philocleon when besieged by his son ('as though he were the town of Skione'),—Sosias says, 'since we have driven this enemy away' τί οὐκ ἀποκοιμήθην ὅσον ὅσον στίλην; 'why shouldn't we snatch just a wee drop of sleep?' Stein, however, regards ἀπό as intensive, 'without getting any sound sleep'.

## CHAPTER LXXVII.

41 1. καταβάλλειν 'to bring into contempt', used as the opp. of ἐξαιλεῖν 'to exalt' in 9, 79.

3. Ἀρτέμιδος...ἀκτὴν. The coast of Salamis on which stood a temple of Artemis.

4. Κυνόσουραν p. 40, l. 10. 'dog's-tail', seems a common name for a peninsula. The particular place here meant is uncertain. See Index and Introduction.

5. λιπαρὰς 'shining' [lit. oily], either from the clearness of its air, of which the Athenians were proud [Eur. Med. 829 αἶθρ' διὰ λαμπροτάτου βαίνοντες ἀβρῶς αἰθέρος], or from its groves of olives; though Aristophanes [Ach. 637] said it was an epithet better suited to sardines,

εἰ δέ τις ὑμᾶς ὑποθωπεύσας λιπαρὰς καλέσειεν Ἀθήνας  
εὔρετο πᾶν ἂν διὰ τὰς λιπαρὰς, ἀφύων τιμὴν περιάψας.

6. σβέσσει = σβέσει, a form apparently rarely if ever found elsewhere. Κόρον 'Presumption' resulting from over-great success or

wealth. For the birth of κόρος from ὑβρις 'unchecked impulse', compare Pind. Olymp. 13, 13 ὑβριν κόρου μάτερα θρασύμυθον.

7. δοκεῦντ' ἀνὰ πάντα πιθέσθαι 'expecting to be obeyed in everything', 'expecting to rule the world'. For δοκεῦντα see App. D. footnote (9).

9. ἐλεύθερον ἡμαρ 'the day of freedom,' sc. 'freedom', cp. Hom. Il. 22, 490 ἡμαρ ὀρφανικόν 'the day of orphanhood', = 'orphanhood'.

11—13. ἐς τοιαῦτα...ἐνδέκομαι. The syntax of this sentence is much dislocated, though the meaning is clear. The ἐς stands in the way as it did in p. 30, l. 3; and, if we understand ἐσβλέψας after ἐς τοιαῦτα [see l. 1], we are met with the difficulty of coupling two participles ἐσβλέψας and λέγοντι by the conjunction καὶ, which are in different cases and refer to different people. Of this latter anomaly however Abicht quotes another example in Herodotus (7, 9). All would be made easy by omitting ἐς; but if this is to stand we must understand ἐσβλέψας as above, and translate 'Looking at such facts and considering that Bakis speaks thus clearly I dare neither venture on an argument against oracles myself, nor can I admit any such from others'.

Or we might possibly combine ἐς τοιαῦτα with οὕτω ἐναργέως and translate 'Now against Bakis when he speaks in regard to such facts and so clearly I dare neither' etc.

The dative Βάκιδι depends upon the verbal subst. ἀντιλογίης, which is itself a partitive gen. for ἀντιλογίης τι, if indeed this latter particle has not dropped from the text; finally ἀντιλογίης is followed by a preposition περὶ χρησμῶν as though it were a verb: for which Stein compares 7, 237 κακολογίης...ξείνου πέρι.

## CHAPTER LXXVIII.

15. ὤθισμός λόγων 'a sharp combat of words', cp. p. 32, l. 3. ὤθισμός (a pushing) = 'a hand to hand engagement', 'a personal encounter', see 9, 62.

16. περικυκλέοντο 'were actually engaged in surrounding them'. See p. 40, l. 9.

18. κατὰ χώραν 'unmoved', 'in statu quo'.

## CHAPTER LXXIX.

18. συνεστηκότων . . τῶν στρατηγῶν 'while the generals were contending'. Cp. Thucyd. 1, 1, 1 τὸ ἄλλο Ἑλληνικὸν ἔρῳ συνεστήμενον πρὸς ἀλλήλους. Cf. Her. 7, 142 συνεστηναὶ γινῶμαι 'opposed', 1, 208 γινῶμαι μὲν αὐταὶ συνέστασαν.

20. ἐξωστρακισμένος 'who had been banished by a sentence of Ostracism' two years before; he was residing at Argos.

[The institution of ostracism is explained by Grote, *History of Greece* pt. II, ch. xxxii. It was peculiar to Athens, and a few other states, though a somewhat similar process called *pelatium* (from the votes being inscribed on leaves *πέταλα*) existed in Syracuse (Diod. 11, 87). It was instituted by Cleisthenes as a means of preventing civil disturbances (*στάσεις*) from the excessive power of one man or the keen rivalry of two statesmen. The Ecclesia was first asked without mention of names whether there was occasion for such a proceeding; if the answer was in the affirmative, the agora was arranged for the voting of the ten tribes, and the ostracism was inflicted upon a man on the condition (1) that 6000 in all voted, (2) that the majority of such named him. The votes were written on bits of earthenware or shells (*στρακα*), hence the name. The sentence so passed consisted of an order to a man to reside for 10 years out of Attica; but it did not involve permanent loss of citizenship or any loss of property. The institution lasted until B.C. 420 when it seems to have been discredited by being employed against a mean person named Hyperbolos [Plut. Arist. 7].

Ostracism prevailed also, it is said, in Argos, Miletos, and Megara. Some hold—against Plutarch—that 6000 votes were required against a man before he could be banished.

23. στάς ἐπὶ τὸ συνέδριον 'appearing at the council', not entering it, in the sense of taking part in it, as the next word ἐξεκαλέετο shows. Cp. 3, 46 καταστάντες ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀρχοντας, 9, 5 ἀπικόμενος ἐπὶ τῇ βουλῇ. According to Plutarch [Them. 12, 3] the last council was held in the tent of Themistokles.

25. ἐχθρόν see Plut. Themist. 3 'Themistokles early took up a position of hostility to the leading men, and especially towards Aristides, whose political course was diametrically opposite to his own. Various motives are assigned to this enmity; but the fact is that the difference of their habits and character accounts for it. For Aristides was by nature gentle and high minded; his political conduct was never inspired by the desire of popularity, nor could he refrain from opposing Themistokles in the wild

schemes to which for the sake of his own advancement he was continually inciting the people'.

ὑπὸ, cp. p. 1, l. 3. λήθην...ποιεῦμενος 'forgetting', ἀπολανθάνομενος, cf. p. 39, l. 5 where θῶμα ποιεύμενοι = θανμάζοντες.

1. συμμῖξαι 'to communicate with him'. p. 29, l. 4; p. 34, 42 l. 20.

5. καὶ δὴ καὶ 'and especially of course'. p. 26, l. 18.

7. ὅτι ἴσον...λέγειν 'that it mattered nothing whether they talked much or little'.

9. αὐτόπτης 'an eye-witness'. Aristides had seen and understood the movement of the Persian ships as he was himself coming from Aegina.

## CHAPTER LXXX.

16. ἐξ ἐμέο 'by my instigation'. ὅτε 'since'.

18. παραστήσασθαι 'to bring them over to our view'. ε δ.

21. ὥς οὐ ποιούντων 'from a belief that the Barbarians are not so acting', p. 47, l. 14.

23. δὴ 'of course'.

25. εἴ περ 'if, as is no doubt the case'.

## CHAPTER LXXXI.

27. παρελθὼν 'having come before the council'.

1. στρατόπεδον 'fleet' p. 22, l. 2.

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2. παραρτέεσθαι = παρασκευάζεσθαι (l. 17) 'to make the preparations for battle', 'to clear the decks for action'. One of these preparations appears to have been to unship if practicable the great sails, that the ships might be as light and convenient as possible. [Xen. Hell. 1, 1, 13.]

5. οὐκ ἐπίειθοντο τὰ ἐξαγγελθέντα 'did not credit the news'. The natural construction of *πείθεσθαι* is (1) with the dat. whether of person or thing, or (2) with acc. of thing dat. of person *ταῦτά σοι πείθομαι*. But Herodotus has two varieties of construction besides the ordinary one (1) with gen. of person—*πείθεσθαι ἐμέο* 1, 126; cp. 5, 29, 33; (2) as here with a neuter accusative, cp. 2, 12 *τὰ περὶ Αἴγυπτον ὧν καὶ τοῖσι λέγουσιν αὐτὰ πείθομαι*.



## CHAPTER LXXXII.

10. ἐς τὸν τρίποδα. That is on the tripod dedicated at Delphi from the spoils taken in the following year at the battle of Plataea. It stood on a stand made of three twisted serpents, the three heads affording places for the three legs of the tripod; which stand still exists at Constantinople, whither it was taken by the Emperor Constantine. The inscription was on the stand, not on the tripod, and can still be deciphered. See 9, 81; Thucyd. 1, 132.

12. τῇ Δημνίῃ, see p. 6, l. 28.

13. ἐς τὰς ὀγδῶκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίας. See above p. 24, l. 26 where the total (a wrong one according to the items) is given as 378.

15. κατέδεε impersonal 'there were wanting two ships to complete the number'.

## CHAPTER LXXXIII.

17. παρεσκευάζοντο. See on l. 2.

18. ἥως τε δὴ διέφαινε καὶ οἱ...ποιησάμενοι 'and as soon as day began to break they (the commanders) summoned a meeting of the armed marines, and Themistokles made the best speech of all'. For τε...καὶ expressing simultaneousness see p. 3, l. 16. The plural ποιησάμενοι refers to all the commanders of whom Themistokles is one, and the construction, though halting, is intelligible: 'having assembled the men (they made speeches), Themistokles best of them all'. For a participle not followed by a verb see p. 23, l. 1. And for ἐκ πάντων cf. 1, 134 τιμῶσι δὲ ἐκ πάντων τοῖς ἀρχιστα ἰωντῶν αἰέοντας, 'especially'. Aeschylus also [Pers. 387] represents the start of the Greek fleet as being at daybreak.

20, 21. τὰ δὲ ἔπεα—ἀντιτιθέμενα 'and his expressions were all a contrasting of things base with things noble'.

21—3. ὅσα δὲ...αἰρέεσθαι 'and advised them, to use his own words (ὅς), in all that the nature and constitution of a man admitted of, to choose the nobler'. The participle παρανέσας agreeing with Θεμιστοκλῆς takes the place of a verb. For κατάστασις cp. 2, 173 οὔτω δὴ καὶ ἀνθρώπου κατάστασις. For δὴ introducing the words as the thought of another see p. 4, l. 12.

23. καταπλέξας 'having thus finished', a metaphor apparently from weaving, 'to wind up', cp. 4, 205 οὐκ εὖ τὴν ζῴην κατέπλεξε.

So also διαπλέκειν, see 5, 92 διαπλέξαντος τὸν βίον εὔ. Pind. Nem. 7, 99 βίοντον ἀρμόσαις ἤβα λιπαρῶ τε γήραϊ διαπλέκοις εὐδαίμον' ἔντα.

25. δὴ 'accordingly'. καὶ 'and simultaneously', cp. p. 4, l. 12; p. 26, l. 7.

κατὰ 'in the matter of' p. 45, l. 15. See for the calling in the Aeakidae c. 64.

1. ἐνθαῦτα 'thereupon', ἀνῆγον 'began putting out to sea'. 44

## CHAPTER LXXXIV.

3. ἀναγομένοισι 'as they were in the act of leaving land'.

5. ἐπὶ πρύμνῃν ἀνεκρούοντο 'began to back water', the preposition is omitted in l. 16. ἀνακρούεσθαι 'to push oneself backwards', i.e. to row backward. ὤκελλον 'were nearly running aground'.

6. ἐξαναχθéis 'having got clear off shore'.

8. οὕτω δὴ 'it was in these circumstances', p. 3, l. 24. Aeschylus (*Pers.* 411) says that the enemy's ship thus attacked was a Phoenikian, and we see in the next chapter that the Athenians were opposed by the Phoenikians.

12. λέγεται. Notice the double construction after this word, first an indirect clause introduced by ὥς, and then an ordinary acc. and infin. φανείσαν διακελεύσασθαι. This is another instance of idiomatic variety in two clauses essentially coordinate.

13. διακελεύσασθαι...ὄνειδίσασαν 'encouraged them to go on after first uttering the following taunt', cp. 9, 5 διακελευσαμένη γυνὴ γυναικί.

14. στρατόπεδον 'fleet', p. 22, l. 2.

15. ὦ δαιμόνιοι. This form of address seems to be meant to express surprise and some angry contempt, see 7, 48: but like other kindred expressions its meaning would doubtless be modified by the tone in which it was uttered.

μέχρι κόσου 'how far?', or 'how long?', see p. 2, l. 13.

## CHAPTER LXXXV.

16. κατὰ 'opposite', see 9, 46 etc. ἐτατάχατο, App. D. II. a.

18. τὸ πρὸς Ἐλευσίνος...κέρας 'the wing towards Eleusis and the west', p. 45, l. 23. There does not seem however any appreciable difference between the meaning of πρὸς with the gen. here and

with the accus. in l. 19, 20. The same variation occurs elsewhere, see 4, 37 τὸ πρὸς Ἑσπέρῃς...τὰ πρὸς Βορρην. See the remark on l. 12, and cp. ἐπὶ used with gen. and acc. in 9, 47. See above, p. 33, l. 19. Stein observes that ἐσπέρῃη and ἥως here stand for North-West and South-East.

20. ἤφελοκάκειον, p. 12, l. 11.

22. συχινῶν οὐνόματα 'the names of several', i.e. Ionians.

27. ἐτυράννευσε 'became absolute ruler of'.

45 1. καταστησάντων τῶν Περσέων 'on the appointment of the Persians'. In B.C. 492 Mardonius had been sent down to Asia Minor by Darius to supersede Artaphernes, and with instructions to put down the *Zeumoi* in the Ionian towns, which seems to have been a measure intended to conciliate Hellenic feeling to the Persian overlordship [H. r. 6, 43]. But such a measure was much at variance with the interests of the Persians and was not likely to have been long maintained, and indeed Herodotus indicates that it would seem incredible in his day.

2. εἰργέτης . πολλή 'was entered in the records as a "benefactor" of the king and a large quantity of land was given him'. The custom of keeping a record of such as had done good service to the king is referred to in Esther c. vi. 'On that night could not the king sleep, and he commanded to bring the book of records of the chronicles; and they were read before the king. And it was found written, that Mordecai had told of Bigthana and Teresh...who sought to lay hold on the king Ahasuerus'. The word *εἰργέτης* by which Herodotus here translates the Persian title was well known in Greek polity, and was bestowed by states on leading men in other states in return for good services received. See Thucyd. 1, 129, 2 where Xerxes tells Themistokles καὶταί σοι εἰργασία ἐν τῷ ἡμετέρῳ αἰῶνι εἶσαι ἀνέγραπτος. Cp. il. 1, 137, 7. And for the practice among the Greeks of giving this title accompanied by fixed privileges see Xen. Vect. 3, 11; Demosth. Lept. 466; Fals. Leg. 446. Sometimes the title and certain privileges were given to all the citizens of a state, as to the Syracusans by the people of Antandros [Xen. Hell. 1, 1, 26].

3. ὀροσάγγαι. 'This word is interpreted by Photios and Hesychios as σωματοφύλακες βασιλέως "body-guards of the king", and in this sense is used by Sophocles fr. 185'. Stein. Persian scholars seem divided as to its derivation.

## CHAPTER LXXXVI.

6. ἐκεραϊζετο 'were entirely demolished', used here and in c. 91 to indicate the breaking up of the ships by the charges of the enemy. Elsewhere Herodotus uses it of plundering a town or destroying persons or things, 1, 88 κ. ἄστυ. 7, 125 οἱ λέοντες τὰς καμήλους ἐκεραϊζον μούνας. [It is from the Rt. κερ, from which we have had κείρω p. 32, l. 15.]

7. ἄτε, p. 38, l. 26.

8. κατὰ τάξιν 'in regular order of naval war'. Cobet would omit these words as being merely equivalent to σὺν κόσμῳ. But the two clauses balance; σὺν κόσμῳ is opposite to οὐ τεταγμένων, κατὰ τάξιν to οὔτε σὺν νόῳ.

10. ἔμελλε. p. 2, l. 3.

11. ἦσαν γε καὶ ἐγένοντο, 'were and showed themselves to be'.

12. ἀμείνονες ἐωυτῶν ἢ 'their valour was even greater than at Euboea', i.e. at Artemisium. The phrase ἀμείνονες ἐωυτῶν is regarded as making one comparative adjective. Cp. 2, 25 ὁ Νεῖλος ἐωυτοῦ βέει πολλῶ ὑποδέεστος ἢ τοῦ θέρους. For the phrase cp. Thucyd. 1, 8, 3 πλουσιώτεροι ἐαυτῶν γιγνόμενοι.

πᾶς τις προθυμείμενος. For the singular participle clause after plural verb cp. the construction of *quīsque*: and for the converse see p. 43, l. 9.

δαιμαίνων Ξέρξην. Cp. p. 8, l. 15.

## CHAPTER LXXXVII.

15. κατὰ 'in regard to', p. 43, l. 25.

16. μετεξετέρους. See on p. 5, l. 8.

18. μᾶλλον ἔτι. p. 36, l. 20.

23. πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων 'on the side nearest the enemy'. See p. 44, l. 18.

25. συνήνεκε 'turned out successful'. Cp. 9, 37 οὐ μέντοι ἔς γε τέλος οἱ συνήνεκε τὸ ἐχθρος τὸ ἐς Λακεδαιμονίους.

29. ἔτι...ἔδοντων while they (Artemisia and the King) were in the neighbourhood of the Hellespont. For περὶ with acc. see on p. 15, l. 19.

1. ἐκ προνοίης 'on purpose', 'of malice aforethought', opposed 46 to κατὰ τύχην, cp. 3, 121.

8. αὐτοῖσι, sc. the Greeks, as is implied by the subject *τρίηραρχος*, a Greek trierarch. This pursuing trierarch is said in c. 93 to have been Ameinias of Pallene.

9. πρὸς ἄλλας ἐτράπετο 'turned his attention to attacking other ships'. p. 10, l. 22.

### CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

9. 10. τοῦτο μὲν...τοῦτο δὲ 'in the first place'... 'in the second place', p. 40, l. 6.

συνήνεκε 'happened fortunately', p. 45, l. 25.

13. 14. θεύμενον 'surveying the battle'. See p. 47, l. 28 sq.

καὶ δὴ 'and thereupon'.

17. 18. φάναι 'said yes'. τὸ ἐπίσημον 'her ensign', that is the design on her ship's prow. Such a design is mentioned in 3, 59 where certain ships are said to have had the figure of wild boars on their prows. The position of this figurehead would make it plain to a spectator from shore, but it would not be seen by the Athenian captain pursuing.

19. ἠπιστέατο 'they believed', p. 3, l. 21.

21. καὶ τὸ κατήγορον γενέσθαι 'and the fact that no one was saved from the Calyndian vessel to be her accuser'.

### CHAPTER LXXXIX.

26. πόνῳ 'engagement'.

26-28. ἀπὸ μὲν ἔθανε...ἀπὸ δὲ sc. ἔθανον, cp. p. 17, l. 24; p. 34, l. 23.

47 2. καὶ μὴ ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ ἀπολλύμενοι 'and if they did not perish in actual fighting'. Cf. 9, 48 ἐς χειρῶν νόμον ἀπικέσθαι. For μὴ with participle in conditional sense cp. 7, 101 οἱ ἀξιόμαχοί εἰσι ἐμὲ ἐπιδόντα προσμεῖναι μὴ ἔόντες ἄρθμοι.

3. διένεον, see on p. 5, l. 3, 4.

6. ἐνθαῦτα 'it was at that point'.

### CHAPTER XC.

12. διεφθάρατο App. D. II. (a).

14. ὥς προδόντων 'on the ground that they (the Ionians) had played traitors'. For the change of case cp. p. 36, l. 16.

18. κατέδύετο 'became water-logged'. That this does not mean entirely sunk is shown by the passage immediately following, and by

Thucyd. 1, 50, 1 οἱ Κορίνθιοι τὰ σκάφη οὐχ εἰλκον ἀναδούμενοι τῶν νεῶν ὥς καταδύσειαν, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους φονεύειν ἐτράποντο, 'The Corinthians did not set to work to tow off the hulls of such vessels as they had disabled (water-logged), but turned to slaughtering the men'.

19. ἐπιφερομένη 'charging'. See on p. 31, l. 2.

23. ἐρρύσατο sufficed to save the Ionians from the danger in which they stood from the accusation of the Phoenikians.

28. ἵνα... διαβάλλωσι dramatic subj. after a past tense in the main clause, 'that they may not (he said) after playing the coward themselves slander men better than themselves'. See p. 40, l. 17.

2. κατήμενος ὑπὸ τῷ οὐρεῖ 'sitting under the crest of the hill 48 opposite Salamis which is called Aegaleos'. Rawlinson from a personal survey believes that he discovered the exact position of Xerxes' seat on a small eminence beneath the N.W. extremity of Aegaleos (*Scaramagna*), which commands a view of the narrowest part of the bay. Aeschylus (*Persae* 464) says that Xerxes was 'on a high hill near the beach, which commanded a view of the whole fleet'. And Plutarch (*Them.* 13) describes it as being 'above the Heracleum, where the channel is narrowest'.

3. ἀνεπυνθάνετο 'he always asked the name of the man who did it'.

4. ἀνέγραφον 'entered it in the book'. See on p. 45, l. 2. And for the γραμματισταὶ 'king's secretaries' thus accompanying the king, see the account of the review of the army at the mouth of the Strymon, 7, 100, διςξελαύνων ἐπὶ ἄρματος παρὰ ἔθνος ἐν ἑκαστον ἐπυνθάνετο, καὶ ἀπέγραφον οἱ γραμματισταί.

πατρόθεν 'with the name of his father'. Cp. Xen. *Oecon.* 7, 3 ὑνομάζοντες με' Ἰσχόμαχον πατρόθεν προσκαλοῦνται.

5, 6. πρὸς δέ τι καὶ προσεβάλετο... πάθεις 'and what contributed also something to the punishment of the Phoenikians was the fact that Ariaramnes a Persian was there who was on friendly terms with the Ionians'. Cp. Thucyd. 3, 36, 1 καὶ πρὸς ξυνεβάλετο οὐκ ἐλάχιστον τῆς ὀρμῆς αἱ Πελοποννησίων νῆες ἐς Ἴωνίαν ἐκείνοις βοηθοὶ τολμήσασαι παρακινδυνεύσαι 'And what contributed more than anything to their passionate determination was the fact that the Peloponnesian ships had ventured boldly into Ionia to assist these men'.





## HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX.

### ABAE, 27, 33.

A city of Phokis on the frontier of Euboea, situated upon one of the tributaries of the Kephisos. It contained a rich temple and oracle of Apollo, and had been inhabited by a Thracian tribe who afterwards passed over to Euboea. It appears to have recovered from the damage done by the Persians, for it is the only town in Phokis that did not share in the Sacred War (B.C. 357—346) and offered a refuge for fugitives, for which however it suffered by the burning of its temple [Paus. 10, 35, 2].

### AERONICHOS, c. 21.

An Athenian, son of Lysikles, employed by Leonidas to watch the fleet at Artemisium, and bring news of the result of the battle.

### ACHAIA, c. 36.

### ACHAIANS, cc. 47, 73.

The inhabitants of Achaia, the northern district of the Peloponnese. The *Achaioi* in the time of Homer inhabited Argolis, Laconia, and Messenia, but at some period subsequent to that they were expelled by the Dorians and driven into the northern district, from which they expelled the Ionian inhabitants, and which afterwards retained their name. They were a confederacy of twelve chief cities, ten of which were on the sea coast [I, 145]. The name was also preserved in Northern Greece in the district of Achaea Phthiotis round Mt Orthrys [7, 132].

### ACHERON, c. 47.

A small river in Epiros, which falls into the Ionian Sea at a place called the Sweet Haven [*γλυκὺς λιμὴν*], *Port Fanari*.

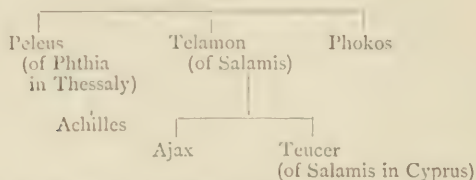
### ADEIMANTOS, cc. 5, 59, 61.

A Corinthian, son of Okytos, commanding the Corinthian contingent in the allied fleet. He seems to have played the coward at Salamis.

AEAKIDAE, cc. 64, 83—4. AEAPOS, c. 64.

The descendants of Aeaos, son of Zeus and Aegina. Gaining great reputation for his justice as ruler of Aegina, Aeaos became one of the three judges in Hades. His descendants were the national heroes of Aegina, Thessaly and Salamis.

Aeaos



The myth was that Peleus and Telamon joined in killing Phokos, and that therefore Peleus was driven to exile in Phthia, Telamon in Salamis. See 5, 80.

AEGALEOS, c. 90.

A mountain chain in Attica extending from Parnes to the east of the bay of Eleusis. Its southern slope overlooks the gulf and island of Salamis.

AEINA, cc. 41, 60, 63, 79, 81, 83—4.

AEINETANS, the, cc. 1, 45, 74, 84, 86.

An island in the Saronic gulf, about eight miles due south of Salamis and about double that distance east of the coast of Argolis. At the time of the Persian invasion it was an independent state, though it had formerly been subject to the people of the opposite Dorian town of Epidauros, from which the island had been peopled [5, 83; 8, 46]. The Aeginetans had however long ago thrown off the control of Epidauros, and had become possessed of a powerful navy and considerable wealth. They had from very ancient times been at enmity with Athens, which is described by Herodotus [5, 82 sq.] as beginning with an attempt on the part of the latter to carry off the olive-wood images of the national heroes of Aegina, the Aeaidae. But a more likely account is that which represents the Aeginetans as making frequent attacks upon the Attic coast, and using their power at sea, on which they were supreme before B.C. 500, to annoy and injure Athenian commerce. The quarrel was further embittered by help given to the Boeotians against Athens a few years earlier [7, 81], and when Darius about 493—2 B.C. sent round to the Greek states for earth and water, Aegina was one of the states which complied, actuated perhaps as much by jealousy of Athens as by fear of Persia. This led to a formal complaint

against them by Athens to Sparta. The Spartans took hostages for their fidelity whom they entrusted to the Athenians, and whom the Athenians before and after Marathon refused to return. The war which followed continued after B.C. 489 [9, 75], to carry out which Themistokles persuaded the Athenians to build a fleet. The threatened invasion of Xerxes however forced Athens and Aegina to make peace, and thus Aeginetan ships served at Salamis, and next year their soldiers served at Plataea. Aegina finally became entirely subject to Athens during the administration of Perikles, who always regarded its independence as a standing menace to Athens and was wont to call it 'the eyesore of the Peiraeus' [Plut. *Peric.* 8]. And in B.C. 431 the Athenians expelled the Dorian inhabitants and placed Attic settlers in their room [Thucyd. 2, 27; 7, 57].

AEOLIDAE, the, c. 35.

The inhabitants of a town and district at the foot of Parnassos in Phokis. The exact site seems uncertain.

AESCHREAS, c. 11.

An Athenian, father of Lykomedes.

AETOLIANS, the, c. 73.

According to one myth Aetolos, king of Elis, son of Endymion, having slain Apis fled to the district of the Achelous which was called Aetolia after him. According to another the Aetolians helped to convey the Dorian invaders from Antirrhium to Rhium in the Peloponnese, and received the district of Elis as their reward [Paus. 5, 3, 5]. The Aetolians living north of the Corinthian Gulf were a peculiar people little known in the rest of Hellas. They lived in open towns or hamlets and used only light armour; but were warlike and brave. In B.C. 426 the Athenian general Demosthenes invaded Aetolia, but was defeated by a combined army of all the Aetolian states [Thucyd. 3, 94—8]. The Aetolians showed the same determination in resisting the Gallic invasion in the third century; and the Aetolian League from about B.C. 220 was the rival of the Achaean League in Greece until reduced by the Romans in B.C. 189.

AGLAUROS, c. 53.

Daughter of Kekrops. She had a temple, or rather sacred grotto, on the north side of the Acropolis, from which tradition said that she had cast herself, as a sacrifice for her country.

AJAX, c. 63.

Son of Telamon, and one of the heroes of Salamis. See *Aeakidae*. In the Iliad he is the greatest warrior next to Achilles, but has no special authority in council.

AKERATOS, c. 37.

The prophet in the temple of Apollo at Delphi.

## ALEXANDER, c. 34.

Alexander, son of Amyntas I., king of Lower Macedonia, the chief cities of which were Edessa and Pella. His family claimed to be Greek as descended from an Argive named Téménus [Her. 8, 137; Thucyd. 2, 99], whose grand-son Perdicas first established the dynasty. Alexander, though he appears as acting with Xerxes under compulsion, had thirty years before shown that he was a man of courage and address. At that time (B.C. 510) the Persian general Megabazus, who had been commissioned by Darius, after his unfortunate Scythian expedition, to obtain the submission of Macedonia, sent seven ambassadors of high rank to the court of Amyntas. They obtained the symbols of submission from the aged king and were royally entertained by him, but an insult offered by them to some ladies of the court so enraged the young Prince Alexander, that he had them assassinated, and all their rich equipments dispersed [5, 19—21]. Though when king he had been unable to resist submitting to Xerxes, he had still shown his interest in the Greek cause by taking the trouble to send envoys to the army despatched to guard the pass between Ossa and Olympus urging them not to attempt to hold so dangerous a position [Her. 7, 173]; and in the following year he showed, by coming to warn the Greeks before Plataea, on which side his wishes really lay [9, 45]. He had great wealth derived from the product of silver mines [5, 17], and he appears to have shown his joy at the Greek victory by presenting a gold statue to the god at Delphi [8, 121]. He was succeeded by his son Perdicas II. some time before 432 B.C. [Thucyd. 1, 57] and after B.C. 463 [Plut. *Cim.* 14]. His Argive descent was admitted by the managers of the Olympic games, who allowed him to enter for the foot-race [5, 22].

## ALKIBIADES, c. 17.

The father of Kleinias, and grandfather of the great Alkibiades. He was the head of one of the richest and noblest families at Athens, which traced its descent from Eurysakes, son of Ajax.

## ALYATTES, c. 35.

King of Lydia, and father of Kroesos. In his reign [B.C. 625—560] the Kimmerians, a horde of Scythian barbarians who had forced their way into Asia, were expelled from Lydia; and the encroachment upon Karia and Ephesos was begun which was consummated by his son Kroesos [q. v.].

## AMBRAKIOTS, the, c. 45.

Ambrakia was a town and district on the river Arachthos, seven miles from the shore of the Ambrakian gulf. It was a colony from Corinth [Thucyd. 2, 80], and though it only contributed the moderate contingent of 500 men to the Greek army of defence, it played an important part afterwards in the Peloponnesian war on the side of the Peloponnesians; and in the time of Pyrrhus (circ. B.C. 290) was the capital of Epiros.

## AMEINIAS, c. 84.

An Athenian, of the deme Pallene.

## AMPHIKAIA, c. 33.

A town of Phokis in the valley of the Kephisos. Pausanias says [9, 33, 9] that its right name, as evidenced by the decree of the Amphiktyonic Council for its destruction, was Amphikleia. There was a story connected with it exactly like that of Bethgellert, in which the child is defended from a wolf not by a dog, but by a serpent, which was accordingly worshipped, and the town called by some 'Οφιρεία [ὄφις].

## AMPHISSA, c. 32.

A town in the territory of the Ozolian Lokrians, situated on the heights above the Krissean plain (mod. *Salona*). It was afterwards destroyed by order of the Amphiktyonic Council for cultivating the parts of the territory of Krissa which had been consecrated, and for levying severe tolls upon the worshippers coming from Sicily and Italy to the shrine of Delphi, but was afterwards restored [Strab. 9, 3, 4]. The people of Amphissa reckoned themselves to be Aetolians (q. v.) not Lokrians.

## ANAXANDRIDAS, c. 71.

Son of Leon, king of Sparta of the elder house. He died shortly before B.C. 502. Herodotos [5, 39—41] tells us that his first wife, who was also his niece, had no children; and that therefore the Ephors urged him to put her away and marry another. He refused to do so from love to his wife. The Ephors accordingly, as a compromise, suggested that without divorcing his first wife he should take another. He accordingly—a thing hitherto unheard of at Sparta—married a second wife, a daughter of Prinetas, and had by her a son Kleomenes. Soon afterwards his first wife to the surprise of all became the mother of three sons in quick succession, Dorieus, Leonidas, Kleombrotos. Kleomenes succeeded his father and died leaving only a daughter, Gorgo, about 495 B.C. Dorieus had meanwhile after an adventurous life died in Sicily [7, 205], and Leonidas succeeded. Kleombrotos was the father of Pausanias (q. v.).

## ANDRIANS, the, c. 66.

The inhabitants of Andros, the most northern and next to Naxos the largest of the Cyclades, being 21 m. long by 8 m. broad. It was fertile and rich in vines; but its inhabitants pleaded poverty when Themistokles demanded a contribution in B.C. 480 after the battle of Salamis [8, 111]. 'The Athenians', said Themistokles, 'have brought two strong gods, Persuasion and Necessity'. 'But we', answered the Andrians, 'have two unprofitable gods who never quit our island, Poverty and Helplessness'.

ANDROMADAS, c. 85.

A Samian, father of Theomestor [q. v.].

ANTIDORUS, c. 11.

A native of Lemnos.

ANTIKYRA, c. 21.

There were two towns of this name, one in Phokis on the gulf of Corinth; the other in Mals. The latter seems to be the one referred to here [and in 7, 198]. It was near the modern town of *Zitini*. Both towns were noted for the cultivation of hellebore.

APHETAE, cc. 4, 7, 8, 11, 12, 14.

A town and roadstead on the coast of Magnesia in the Pagasæan gulf. Strabo says that it was so named as the place from which the *Argo* started, just as Pagasæ was called as the place at which the *Argo* was built (*παραπύρα*). He says that Aphetæ was near (*παραπύρα*) Pagasæ; but this cannot be taken very literally. Pagasæ is at the very head of the gulf and the whole story shows that the Persian fleet could not have been so far removed from Artemisium [Strab. 9, 5, 15].

AREIOPAGOS, the, c. 52.

A hill at Athens, sacred to Ares, and separated from the western side of the Akropolis by a depression of some few yards breadth. It was chiefly noted for being the place at which the Council met in the open air for trials in cases of murder and sacrilege.

ARES, c. 77.

God of war, son of Zeus and Herè.

ARGIVES, the, c. 73.

The inhabitants of Argos, the chief town of Argolis, the north-eastern province of Peloponnese. Their dispute with Sparta for possession of the narrow district along the coast immediately south of Argos, called Kynuria, had kept them in constant hostility with the Spartans. And their sufferings from the invasion of the Spartan king Kleomenes in B.C. 495—3, and the consequent rebellion of their own slaves [6, 78—83], had not only crippled them, but made them more than indifferent, positively hostile to the cause of the Greeks against the Persians; they are said to have even sent to Persia inviting the invasion [7, 150—2], and certainly took no part in resisting it. In the following year they showed their friendship by warning Mardonios of the approach of the army of the Peloponnese [9, 12]. This alliance with Persia was maintained for many years afterwards [7, 151; Thucyd. 2, 67].



ARIABIGNES, c. 89.

A son of Darius, and brother of Xerxes. He was commander in chief of the Persian fleet [7, 97].

ARIARAMNES, c. 90.

A Persian. His friendship to the Ionians had probably been conceived during some official employment in Asia Minor.

ARISTEIDES, cc. 79, 91.

The son of Lysimachos, of the deme Alopekae. In his youth he had been a friend of the reformer Cleisthenes, and when in after years he came to hold various offices in the state he so distinguished himself for his strict integrity, that he received by general consent the title of the Just. He was one of the ten Strategi at Marathon, and, after the battle, was left with the men of his tribe to guard the captives and collect the spoil, while the rest of the army hurried back to Athens to confront the Persians who had sailed thither round Sunium. His great rival, Themistokles, who had also been one of the Strategi at Marathon, rose to great power and influence during the ten years from B.C. 490 to B.C. 480, owing principally to his energetic measures in inducing the Athenians to equip a powerful fleet for the prosecution of the Aeginetan war, which ships, as Herodotos says, 'saved Hellas' by crushing the invasion of Xerxes at Salamis. The political rivalry between the two statesmen had been stopped in the way peculiar to Athens by a vote of ostracism, in which the majority voted against Aristides [B.C. 483]; but when the invasion of Xerxes was actually approaching, the Athenians recalled Aristides, and he joined the fleet at Salamis. After Salamis, though the reputation of Themistokles was enormous, the confidence of the people seems to have rested most upon Aristides. He was elected sole commander (*στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ*) of the 8000 hoplites sent to join the Greek army against Mardonios; and in the period which followed he was almost continually in command in the Aegean. It was his high character which induced the allies, irritated by the folly and arrogance of Pausanias, to transfer the command of the allied fleet to Athens; and it was he who organised the Confederacy of Delos [B.C. 477—6], and arranged the assessment of the *phoros* on a footing of equity always looked back upon by the allies themselves with satisfaction. As a statesman he had been connected with the more aristocratic party in opposition to Themistokles. But after 89 B.C. their positions seem to have been reversed to some extent. It was Aristides who carried a measure throwing open to all citizens the archonship formerly confided to the *pentakosiomedimni*, the richest class of citizens according to the assessment of Solon, while his frequent absence in command of the fleet separated him from the reactionary party at home, and kept him in sympathy with the class of citizens engaged in foreign service, who were observed to be more distinctly democratic than those who remained at home. The year of his death is



variously stated as B.C. 469—8; and the place according to some was Pontus, according to others, Athens. But all agree that he retained the affection and respect of his fellow-citizens to the last, and that he showed by the smallness of the means which he left behind him, that he had made no personal gain in the public service. His tomb was long shown at Phalerum, and his daughters were portioned at the public cost, while his son Lysimachos had a grant of land and a pension.

Life by Plutarch.

#### ARKADIA, c. 26. The ARKADIANS, 72—3.

The central district of the Peloponnese. Its natural strength, being walled in on every side by considerable mountain ranges, preserved it from invasion, and its Pelasgian inhabitants therefore were not displaced by the Dorians who overran and settled most of the rest of the Peloponnese. This fact is to be remembered in studying Peloponnesian politics. Its mountainous scenery, and the antiquity of its inhabitants, caused it to be regarded as the natural home of primitive simplicity and pastoral life. It consisted of a number of independent townships, the most notable of which were Tegea and Mantinea, the only Arkadian towns mentioned as furnishing troops at Plataea [vid. 9, 27—8].

#### ARTABANUS, c. 26.

Son of Hytaspes, brother of Darius, and uncle of Xerxes. He had dissuaded Xerxes from his expedition against Greece [7, 10—17], had warned him of the insecurity of the loyalty of the Ionians [7, 46—52], and had been sent to Sasa in charge of the kingdom when Xerxes was starting [7, 52—3].

#### ARTEMIS, c. 77.

The virgin Goddess, daughter of Zeus and Leto.

#### ARTEMISIA, cc. 68—9, 66—8.

Queen of Halikarnassos in Karia, daughter of Lygdamis. She was married to the king of Halikarnassos, and on his death succeeded to the royal power, though she had a grown-up son, Pisindelis, who was the father of another Lygdamis, king of Halikarnassos at the time that Herodotos left his native city. Besides Halikarnassos her dominions included Kos, Nisyros and Kalydna. She furnished five triremes to the fleet of Xerxes [7, 99], and was so much trusted by him that when he retreated after Salamis to the Hellespont he committed his children to her care to convey to Ephesos [8, 101—2]. Photios [*Biblioth.* 492] says that she committed suicide by throwing herself off the Leucadian rock ('the lover's leap') in remorse for having put out the eyes of a youth called Dardanos of Abydos, whom she had loved in vain. Her portrait was among the paintings on the 'Persian Stoa' in the agora of Sparta [Pausan. 3, 11, 3].

ARTEMISIUM, cc. 4, 6, 8, 40, 42—5, 66, 76, 81.

A name applied to the line of coast on the north of Euboea. It was so called from a temple of Artemis situated on the extreme point of the island. The name was also especially applied to the extreme northern promontory of Euboea, and probably to the town which had gathered round the haven. But of this town we know nothing. The name is common to other places, as for instance a promontory in Karia.

ASINE, c. 73.

A town in Messenia on the west coast of the Koronaeon gulf (*Sinus Messeniacus*), on the opposite coast of which stood Kardamyle. It is called 'near Kardamyle' to distinguish it from Asine in Argos, from which the Dryopians (q. v.) had come, when expelled by the Argives from their three towns of Hermione, Asine, and Halice.

ATHENÈ, c. 55. ATHENÈ PRONAIA, 37—9.

The goddess Athenè was fabled to have sprung fully armed from the head of Zeus. She was guardian deity of Athens, which was named after her. The most venerable temple on the acropolis was hers; her sacred bird was stamped on the Attic coins; and in every respect she represented the Athenian nationality.

The temple of ATHENÈ PRONAIA abutted on the road from Phokis to Delphi, and was the last of four temples standing thus at the entrance of the town. *Pronaia* means 'living in front', i.e. at the entrance of the town: but Pausanias (10, 8, 6) calls it the temple 'Ἀθηνῆς Προπόας 'of Athenè the goddess of foresight'.

ATHENIANS, the, cc. 1, 2, 5, 10, 17—8, 21—2, 40—2, 44, 51—5, 68, 70, 74—5, 84, 86.

ATHENS, cc. 34, 46, 48, 50, 56, 66—8.

During the summer of B.C. 480 Athens was in the hands of the Persians, and though the inhabitants partially returned after the battle of Salamis, they quitted the town again in the spring of 479 B.C. at the approach of Mardonios, and were for the most part housed in the island of Salamis, while Athens itself was for a time again occupied by Mardonios. The Athenians were all along the life and soul of the resistance to Persia. They, with the help of 1000 Plataeans only, had conquered at Marathon in B.C. 490; they had organized the confederacy of the southern states formed in B.C. 481—480 to repel Xerxes; at Artemisium and at Salamis their ships numbered nearly as many as those of all the other allies together; and though at Plataea it was the Spartans and Tegeans who alone were engaged with the Persians, the Athenians were meanwhile employed in what was probably a more serious encounter with the Boeotians, and in the consequent attack upon the Persian

fortified camp the Spartans could not succeed without their help. It was her patriotism and valour in this war which among other causes led to the subsequent supremacy of Athens in Hellas. Until after the Persian wars Athens was practically an open town; the Acropolis had been fortified by a wall constructed by Pelasgian builders, but any other defences it may have possessed must have been of the very slightest. After the Persian wars the Acropolis was devoted to sacred buildings, while the town itself was defended by a ring wall of about 7 miles in circumference.

ATTICA, cc. 10, 40, 49, 51, 60, 65.

Thucydides (1. 2) observes that Attica, partly because it lay out of the road from the north to southern Greece, and partly because its soil was not very fruitful, had in former times seldom been invaded, and therefore had not undergone those frequent changes of inhabitants which had befallen the rest of Greece. The people therefore regarded themselves as autochthonous, or native to the soil. It is a peninsula of which the greatest length is 50 miles and breadth 30 miles; its whole contents 700 square miles. Its geological formation is primitive limestone; and it is so mountainous that only half its square contents is available for cultivation. The hills are generally bare and rugged, giving a meagre sustenance to sheep and goats, and but scantily sprinkled with pines, dwarf-oaks, lentisk, arbutus and bay trees. The plains in the country, and there is none of importance except that of Athens itself, have but a light soil thinly covering the rock, not generally fitted for corn-growing, and not fruitful in anything except olives and vines. It is badly supplied with water; its streams are mountain torrents nearly dry in the summer, and there is no lake or natural reservoir. The name has been generally derived from *ἀστυή*, 'headland' or 'coastland', but Curtius suggests that it is rather *ἀστυική* from *ἄστυ*.

AUTONOOS, c. 39.

One of the heroes or deified men worshipped at Delphi.

BAKIS, cc. 20, 77.

Nothing is known of this personage beyond the fact that a number of oracles were extant attributed to him, which were consulted by individuals and states in times of danger and uncertainty. Herodotos quotes them in 9, 43. Aristophanes parodied the style of these prophecies in the *Equites* and elsewhere [see Eq. 123 sq., Av. 899, Pax 1009], which does not at all prove that he was wholly incredulous in respect to them. We are told that there were three prophets of this name (which means 'the Speaker', cp. *βάλλω*), one of Boeotia, who is the one quoted by Herodotos, another of Attica, and a third of Kaphya in Arkadia.

BOEOTIA, c. 45.

Boeotia was the district immediately to the north of Attica, bounded on the south west by that part of the Corinthian Gulf

called the *mare Alkyonium*, on the north and north-east by the territory of the Opuntian Lokrians and the Euripus, and on the west by Phokis. Between it and Attica lay the mountain range of Kithaeron and Parnes, which was crossed by two passes, one called Dryoskephalae leading from Eleusis by Eleutherae and Hysiae to Plataea, and another from Athens by Phylé (on Mt Parnes) into the valley of the Asopus and direct to Thebes. Extending from sea to sea it barred the way into Attica and the Peloponnese, and being also suited by its plains for military evolutions was often the scene of campaigns. It is divided geographically into two districts, the northern one containing two wide plains, those of Orchomenos and Thebes, but completely surrounded by mountains; the other, or southern Boeotia, containing the long and sometimes wide valley of the Asopus. Politically Boeotia was a somewhat loose confederacy of free towns, which varied in number at different times. Nine towns are known as belonging to the confederacy, viz. Thebes, Orchomenos, Lebadea, Coronea, Copae, Haliartos, Thespiæ, Tanagra, Anthedon. Of these Orchomenos in Homeric times seems to have been far the most important, but for a long while before the Persian war Thebes had been the leading state. These states were free, according to the Hellenic custom, but for certain purposes they were under the control of deputies or *Boeotarchs* elected by each state, who were again controlled by consultative senates.

BOEOTIANS, the, 34, 38, 50, 66.

The Boeotians were a mixed race. Aeolian Hellenes had emigrated from Thessaly and settled there, partly absorbing the earlier Pelasgic inhabitants; and in Thebes there had also been a Phoenikian colony called Kadmeians, whose name still survived in the citadel of Thebes, the Kadmeia. Not only therefore were they divided in race from the people of Attica and the Peloponnese, but against the former they were embittered by the feuds which always sprung up between conterminous Greek states, the especial object of contest in their case being generally the possession of Oropus, which commanded the eastern and easiest road from Attica to the north, as well as Oenoe and Hysiae commanding the pass of Dryoskephalae. They and the Chalkidians of Euboea had in B.C. 506 joined Kleomenes of Sparta in ravaging Attica in the interest of the expelled Hippias [Her. 5, 74], and had subsequently helped to protect the Chalkidians against the consequent Athenian vengeance [ib. 77]; and this enmity to Athens in a great measure accounted for the eagerness with which they as a nation medized. Yet there seems to have been a considerable party of loyalists even at Thebes; and at Thermopylae there were 700 Thespians and 400 Thebans serving in the army of Leonidas, though the latter soon deserted [7, 202].

CHALKIDIANS, the, cc. 1, 44—5.

The inhabitants of Chalkis in Euboea. Chalkis (mod. *Egriſo*) on the Euripus, where the channel is divided by a rock—which

now forms a central pier for the bridge uniting Euboea with the continent,—was a flourishing commercial town which had sent colonies in very ancient times to Sicily and Italy and the north of Greece. The oldest Hellenic colony in Italy, Kumae, was from Chalkis, and the Chalkidian colonies in Sicily, Naxos and Zancle (Messina), had in their turn been the source of four other flourishing Sicilian towns. It was early a rival and opponent of Athens, and in B.C. 506, after taking part in the confederacy formed by Kleomenes against Athens, the Athenians conquered it and divided part of its territory among 4000 lot-holders or *kleruchs* [5, 77].

#### CHERSIS, c. 11.

Father of Gorgos, king of Salamis in Kypros (q. v.). He was the son of Siromos s. of Euclthon, and appears to have been a Phoenikian. See 5, 104.

#### DAMASITHYMOS, c. 87.

Son of Candaules, and king of the Kalyndians (q. v.) in Karia.

#### DARIUS, c. 89.

Darius the Mede, of the clan of the Achaemenidae, the son of Hytaspes. He served under Cambyses in Egypt in B.C. 525 [3, 39]; after whose death he joined the other nobles in a plot to kill the Magus who pretended to be Smerdis son of Kyros [3, 70], and when this man was killed he secured the throne for himself [3, 84—7]: the other Persians submitting to a Mede as king on the condition that he should marry Atossa the daughter of Kyros. He was the organiser of the huge dominions thus acquired; dividing them into twenty satrapies, and appointing to each the amount of tribute to be paid by it to the royal exchequer. In his reign (from B.C. 521 to 485) occurred the Ionian revolt, and, arising from the help rendered by Athens to the rebels, the expedition led by Dares and Artaphernes which failed at Marathon. He was making preparations for a renewal of the struggle when he died.

#### DAULII, the, c. 35.

The inhabitants of Daulis a town of Phokis. The town was destroyed during the Sacred War [B.C. 357—346], but seems to have revived, and was remarkable for the size and courage of its inhabitants, as well as for the abundance and density of its forests [Paus. 10, 41]. See *Drymos*.

#### DELPHI, cc. 27, 35, 81.

#### DELPHIANS, the, cc. 37—9.

Delphi, the seat of the famous oracle of Apollo, was in a religious sense the centre of Greece. To it men from all parts of Greece, and indeed of the known world, came to consult the Oracle on every imaginable difficulty, great or small. The answers of the Pythian

priestess were regarded with the greatest respect, and often decided the policy of a state, and the question of peace or war. The care of the temple was the joint business of the Phokian league, and the claim of the Delphians to the exclusive custody of it, supported as they were in that claim by Sparta, led to a war in which the Athenians finally restored the privilege to the Phokian league [Thucyd. I, 112]. This was about B.C. 449, but more than a hundred years before (B.C. 595—585) there had been a more serious 'Sacred War' brought on by the greed of the people of Kirrha, the port of Delphi, in levying heavy exactions on visitors to the shrine, and which ended in the destruction of Kirrha [Plut. *Sol.* xi.]. So important did the Greeks consider free access to this sacred place. Its freedom and inviolability was the special business of the Amphiktyonic League, which met there and at Thermopylae alternately. The splendid temple standing at the time of the Persian invasion was a comparatively recent erection; the more ancient building was burnt in B.C. 548, and the new one was built by the Alkmaeonidae, who went beyond their contract in facing the entire exterior with Parian marble. The town of Delphi stood in a kind of natural amphitheatre to the S. of the sloping foot of a precipitous two-headed cliff which terminates the range of Parnassos. The valley is watered by the river Pleistos flowing to the S.W. into the Krissaeon gulf. The name of the town in the Homeric poem is Pytho (Πυθώ), hence the 'Pythian games', and the 'Pythia', i.e. the priestess who delivered the oracles.

#### DEMARATOS, c. 65.

Son of Ariston, whom he succeeded as king of Sparta. He incurred the enmity of the other king Kleomenes by thwarting him in his attack upon Athens [5, 75]; and in Aegina [6, 59 sq.]. Accordingly Kleomenes resolved to get rid of him, and the Delphian oracle was induced to declare that he was not the true son of Ariston. After a while being deposed he went into exile, and lived in various places in Greece, finally crossing over to Persia where Darius received him with honour. He accompanied Xerxes in his expedition into Greece; though he had evinced the remains of patriotic feelings by previously warning his countrymen of the coming danger [7, 239]. For his conversations with Xerxes see 7, 101—4, 109. His family long occupied the places in Asia which were given him as a reward [Xen. *Hell.* 3, 1, 6].

#### DEMOKRITOS, c. 46.

A commander of a trireme of Naxos, who according to Plutarch (*de malig. Her.* 36) greatly distinguished himself in the battle of Salamis, taking five of the enemy's ships, and rescuing a Greek vessel that had been captured.

#### DORIANS, the, cc. 31, 43, 45, 66, 73.

The Dorians, according to the myth, were descended from Dorus the eldest son of Hellen, and gradually migrated step by step



southward, under different appellations, until they finally settled in the Peloponnesos [1, 56]. The main fact that the Dorians were a migration from the North, pushed away by the encroachments of northern barbarians, may be regarded as historical. They occupied Korinthos, Lakonia, Argos and Messenia; and presently sent out a considerable number of Colonies; the principal of which were in Korkyra and Sicily to the west, and in Karia in the east.

DORIS, cc. 31—2, 43.

A small district between the Mounts Aetna and Parnassos, consisting of the Valley of the Pindos. The Lacedaemonians regarded this place as their Metropolis, and in B.C. 456 sent an expedition to assist the inhabitants against an attack of the Phokians [Thucyd. 1, 107, 2].

DRYMOS, c. 32.

A town of Phokis in the Valley of the Kephisos. There was a town of the same name, which means an 'Oak forest', in Euboea. For the woody nature of the district, see under *Daulii*. Pausanias calls it *Δρυμία* [10, 3, 2], and tells us of an ancient temple of Demeter Thesmophoros existing there [10, 39, 12].

DRYOPANS, cc. 46, 73.

DRYOPIS, cc. 31, 43.

Dryopis bordered on Malls, extending from the Sperkheios to some way beyond Mt Oeta. The Dryopes were probably a Pelasgic race, and when expelled from their native country scattered in various directions; into Argolis where they built the towns of Hermione, Asine and Eion; into Euboea, where they had Styra and Karystos; and into the islands of Kythnos, Mykonos, and Kypros. See under *Asine*. Müller's *Dorians*, vol. 1. p. 45—7. Her. 1, 56, 146.

EGYPTIANS, the, 17, 68.

The Egyptians, whose civil, religious, and military organisation was the most ancient of any known to the Greeks, and from whom many of the institutions of Greece were traced, had been conquered by the Persians under Cambyses B.C. 525 [3, 10 sq.]; had rebelled against the Persians in the reign of Darius B.C. 486 [7, 1—19], and had thus prevented him from renewing his attack upon Greece; being again subdued by Xerxes they, like the rest of the subject states, furnished a contingent to the Grand Army [7, 25, 89], and their 200 ships did conspicuous service at Artemisium.

ELATEIA, c. 33.

The largest and most important city of Phokis next to Delphi. It stood on a gentle elevation in the midst of a large plain in the valley of the Kephisos. They professed to be of Arkadian [i.e. Pelasgic] origin; and long remained a powerful state, holding suc-



cessfully against Kassander the Macedonian, and later on against Mithridates. For this latter exploit they were made a free city by the Romans [Paus. 10, 34, 1—6].

ELEANS, the, c. 72. ELIS, cc. 27, 73.

Elis was the north-western province of the Peloponnesos. The Eleans, who were Aetolians, are chiefly prominent in Greek history from the fact of their having the management of the Olympic games, held within their borders in the valley of the Alpheus.

ELEUSIS, cc. 65, 85.

Eleusis, situated on a bay called by the same name, was about 11 miles from Athens, from which it was approached by the Sacred Way. It is opposite Salamis and at the mouth of the western branch of the Attic Kephisos. It was famous throughout Greece, and a place of especial sanctity in the eyes of the Athenians, from the celebration of the mysteries in its great temple of Demeter, to which the citizens of Athens yearly went in solemn procession, and which were attended by the pious from all parts of Greece.

ELLOPIA, c. 23.

A district in the N.-West angle of Euboea lying round Mt Telethinus. It formed a part of a district called Oria ('*Ὀρία* or '*Ὀπέλα*') belonging to the town of Histiaea. Some time after the battle of Leuktra (B.C. 371) the Ellopians were removed to Histiaea, which by that time had come to be called Oreus. The mythological derivation of Ellopia was from Ellops son of Ion; which means that the Ellopians were Ionians. Herodotos calls it *μοῖρα* 'an allotment', Strabo *χωρίον* 'a small district' [Strab. 10, 1, 3].

EPIDAUURIANS, the, cc. 1, 43, 72.

EPIDAUROS, c. 46.

Epidauros was a town on the coast of Argolis opposite the island of Aegina, which it had originally colonised and retained more closely under its power than was usually the case with colonies [Her. 5, 83]. The inhabitants were Dorians, and it was noted for its temple and worship of Aesculapios, and for the celebration of certain orgies or mysteries of which Herodotos says 'it is not lawful to speak'.

ERECHTHEUS, c. 55.

A mythical king of Athens, son of Hephaestos and Atthis d. of Kranaos. To him were attributed the establishment at Athens (1) of the worship of Athenè, (2) the Panathenaea, (3) the building of the temple of Athenè Polias, which in historical times formed part of the Erechtheum. Herodotos calls him earth-born [*γηγενής*] as

his mother 'Αρτίς is an earth-nymph, 'Αρτίς Γῆ. Cp. Hom. *Il.* 2, 546,

οἱ δ' ἄρ' Ἀθήνας εἶχον, ἐϋκτίμενον ποτλεθρον,  
δῆμον Ἑρεχθίδος μεγαλήτορος, ὃν ποτ' Ἀθήνη  
θρέψε Διὸς θυγάτηρ—τέκε δὲ ζείδωρος ἄρουρα—  
κάδ δ' ἐν Ἀθῆναις εἶσεν, ἐφ' ἐνὶ πτόνι νηψύ.

ERETRIANS, the, cc. 1, 46.

The inhabitants of Eretria in Euboea. They had assisted Miletos in the Ionic revolt [B.C. 501] with 5 triremes in return for assistance received from Miletos in some quarrel with Chalkis [Her. 5, 99]: for this they were made a special object of attack by Dares and Artaphernes in B.C. 449, who took the town and carried off all the inhabitants they could catch to Susa, where they were received kindly by Darius and settled in a district called Ardericca, about 35 miles from Susa, where they remained for some generations. But though the town was thus depopulated, a considerable number of the inhabitants escaped falling into the hands of the Persians by taking refuge in the mountains in the centre of Euboea [id. vi. 100—120]. These people must have returned after the defeat of the Persians at Marathon and have restored the prosperity of their town; for they supplied 600 hoplites at Plataea, besides sending these seven triremes to Artemisium and Salamis [id. 9, 21].

ERINEOS, c. 43.

A town of Doris on the R. Pindos, a tributary of the Kephisos. It was one of the four cities—the Tetrapolis—which were regarded as the original home of the Dorians. [Strab. 914, 10.]

ETRŌCHUS, c. 33.

A town in Phokis. It appears not to have been an important place, and remained a mere open village after the destructive attack of the Persians. [Paus. 10, 3, 2.]

EUBOEAE, 8, 13, 20, 68—9, 85.

EUBOEANS, the, 5, 6, 7, 13, 19, 20.

Euboea is a long narrow island extending from the Malian gulf as far south as about half the length of Attica, where it approaches nearest the coast of the mainland, from which it was believed to have been separated by an earthquake. The channel (the Euripos) is narrow enough to admit of a bridge, which was first made by the Boeotians in B.C. 410. Its natural formation divides it in three; each part being marked by a range of mountains, Mt Telethios in the north, Mt Dorphys in the centre, Mt Ocha in the south. The chief towns in these divisions were, Histiaea (Oreos) in the north, Chalkis and Eretria in the centre, Styra and Karystos in the south; and these three divisions were also mainly inhabited by three different races respectively, Ellopians (Ionians), Abantes (see *Abas*,

Dryopians (q. v.). For the interference of Athens in Euboea, see *Chalkidians*. [Her. 5, 31 νῆσος μεγάλη τε καὶ εὐδαίμων οὐκ ἐλάσων Κύπρου.]

EURĪPOS, c. 15.

The channel between Euboea and the mainland—whence the modern name of Negropont [i.e. Egripo (Euripos) Ponte=bridge]. It was the natural course for ships to take coming from the north, and has been called by some historians the sea-Thermopylae, being the key to the south of Greece by sea, as Thermopylae by land: at its narrowest point opposite Chalkis it is only 40 yards across.

EUROPE, c. 51.

Herodotos conceived of Europe as a large continent of unknown extent towards the west and north, no man being able to say whether the sea bounded it in those two directions. The whole world was divided into Asia and Europe; in Asia was included Libya as far as the valley of the Nile, which bounded Europe in one direction while the Kolchian Phasis bounded it on the other [4, 45].

EURYBIADES, cc. 2, 42, 48, 57, 59, 60, 62—3, 74, 79.

Son of Eurykleides, the commander of the Spartan and therefore of the combined fleet. Though the account of his proceedings does not give a very lively idea of firmness or capacity, his countrymen honoured him with the prize for valour after Salamis while they gave the prize for wisdom to Themistokles [8, 124].

EURYKLEIDES, cc. 2, 42, 62.

A Spartan, father of Eurybiades.

GERAISTOS, c. 7.

A town and promontory (*Cape Mundili*) at the extreme south of Euboea. It possessed a great temple of Poseidon. The town does not seem to have been important except as a place of call for ships sailing from Attica to the Islands or Asia Minor. See Hom. *Odys.* 3, 177 ἐς τε Γεραίστον ἐννύχιαι κατὰγοντο (in Nestor's account of the Greek return from Troy).

GORGOS, c. 11.

King of Salamis in Kypros. He had been shut out of his own town by a trick of his brother Onesilos, because he refused to join the Ionian revolt from Persia, but flying for safety to the Persians had been reinstated. [5, 104, 115.]

HERAKLES, 43.

The worship of Herakles, according to the common legend son of Zeus and Alkmena, was the most widely spread in Greece of any god. Herodotos found a deity worshipped in Egypt under the

same name [2, 43, 145], at Tyre [2, 44], and in Scythia (4, 59); though the Greek legends concerning him were unknown to the Egyptians [2, 43]. The peculiarity of the worship of Herakles was that it combined the two kinds, that paid to a hero and that to a God (2, 44). He is the mythical ancestor of the royal families of Sparta and of Lydia [1, 7; 7, 204], and his temples were found in innumerable places. He represented to the Greek mind the highest idea of human strength and triumphant manhood, to which heaven itself was open.

HERMIONE, c. 73. HERMIONIAN, the, cc. 43, 72.

A town on the S. E. coast of Argolis, on a gulf to which it gives a name. It was one of the three Argive towns (the others being Halice and Asine) inhabited by Dryopians (q. v.).

HIISTIAEA, cc. 23, 25, 66, 85.

A town on the north of Euboea. It was afterwards called Oreos, from the general name of the district in which it stood. After the Persian war it was subject to Athens and revolting in B.C. 445 was taken by Perikles, its inhabitants removed, and Athenian citizens put in [Thuc. 1, 114]. See *Ellopiea*.

HOLLOWS OF EUBOEAE, the, c. 13.

By τὰ κοῖλα τῆς Εἰβοῆς was meant, says Strabo, all the part between Aulis and the district of Geraestus; for the shore there bends into a deep bay, but towards Chalkis approaches the mainland again [Strab. 10, 1, 15]. The Persian ships therefore had rounded Geraestus when they were caught by the storm. This was a dangerous coast from its broken and abrupt nature and its variety of currents. Cp. Livy 31, 47 *est sinus Euboicus, quem Coela vocant, suspectus nautis*. And Eurip. *Troia*. 84 *πληθὺν δὲ νεκρῶν κοῖλον Εὐβοίας μυχόν*. This last quotation is in favour of the geographical description given above; for it refers to the return of the Greeks from Troy, the natural course being that which they took when going out, viz. by Aulis and the Euripos, in which case they would necessarily pass through the *sinus Euboicus*, but not past Cape Kaphareos, between which and Geraestus some would place 'the Hollows'.

HYAMPEIA, c. 39.

One of the two peaks of Parnassos immediately above the fountain of Castalia at Delphi.

HYAMPOLIS, c. 34.

A city in Phokis on the Kephisos and a short distance north of Abae (q. v.), on the road leading from the latter town to Opus. The town was said to have been colonised by natives of Thebes driven out by Kadmos. It was again destroyed by Philip of

Macedon; but many of its ancient buildings were standing in the time of Pausanias (2nd cent. A.D.) and Hadrian built a covered walk (*στροδ*) there. [Paus. 10, 35, 4.]

ION, c. 44.

Ion, son of Xuthos, son of Hellen, the mythical ancestor of the Ionians.

IONIANS, the, cc. 10, 19, 22, 46, 48, 85, 90.

Those of the Hellenic settlers in Greece who according to the myth were descended from Ion, son of Xuthos, the third son of Hellen. They appear first to have settled in the northern district of the Peloponnese, afterwards called Achaia [Her. VII. 94] and in Attica and Euboea. Athens was regarded (though without any certain historical basis) as the *μητρόπολις* of the Ionian states established in various parts of Greece. The most numerous and flourishing were those in Asia Minor, such as Ephesus and Miletus, and when Herodotos speaks of 'the Ionians' he usually means these Asiatic states between the river Hermus on the north and the district of Miletos on the south. They consisted of twelve states, viz. Miletus, Myos, Priene, *in Caria*; Ephesos, Kolophon, Lebedus, Teos, Klazomenae, Phokaea, Erythra, *in Lydia*; and two islands, Samos and Chios. These states signalised their connexion by a yearly meeting at the Pan-Ionium, near the temple of Poseidon on the promontory of Mykalè, or at a later period at Ephesus [see Her. 1, 142; Thucyd. 3, 104].

ISTHMUS, the, cc. 40, 49, 56—7, 60, 71—4, 79.

The Isthmus of Corinth is called *the* Isthmus by Herodotos and Thucydides; when any other is meant it is distinguished by some explanatory word as *Παλλήνης*, *Χερσονήσου*, or the like. At the time of the Persian war the Greeks of the Peloponnese looked to the Isthmus as their chief protection because it could be passed only by two difficult roads, and admitted of being effectually blocked by artificial means.

ITALIA, c. 62.

Italy was well known to the Greeks from the numerous Hellenic colonies which studded the south-eastern shores, and in some cases the western also. Moreover the Etruscan pirates had made themselves felt in the Eastern Mediterranean. Herodotos himself spent many years of his life at Thurii in Italy.

KALLIADES, c. 51.

Archon Eponymos at Athens for the year B.C. 480—479.

KALYNDIANS, the, c. 87—8.

The inhabitants of Kalynda a town in Karia on the borders of Lykia.

## KAPHIAREOS, c. 7.

The northern of the promontories at the southern extremity of Euboea (mod. *Xylophago*).

## KARDAMYLE, c. 73.

A town of Messenia on the eastern shore of the *Sinus Messeniacus*, subject from ancient times to the Lacedaemonians; though in Homer [*Il.* 9. 150] it is spoken of as belonging to Agamemnon.

## KARIANS, the, cc. 19, 22.

The inhabitants of Karia, a district to the S.-West of Asia Minor. Herodotos, who was born in Halikarnassos an Hellenic town in Karia, asserts that the Karians came thither from the Islands, and that, while in the Islands, they were called Leleges, a sister people of the Pelasgians. Thucydides also says that the occupation of the islands by Karians was proved by the tombs opened by the Athenians in B.C. 425, in order to purify the island by removing the corpses. His theory is that being great smugglers they were driven from the Islands by Minos of Crete [*Thucyd.* 1, 8; 3, 104]. Their language though not Hellenic had a large admixture of Hellenic words (*Her.* 1, 171), and when Homer (*Il.* 2, 867) calls them *βαρβαροφῶναι* he may be indicating (as Rawlinson remarks) not so much their separation from the Greeks, as the fact that they attempted an intercourse from which others shrank.

## KARNEIA, the, c. 72.

A national festival held at Sparta (as also in other cities of the Peloponnese, as well as Dorian cities elsewhere) in honour of Apollo Karneios. It lasted nine days, beginning on the 7th day of the Spartan month Karneios [August].

## KARYSTIANS, the, c. 66.

The inhabitants of Karystos in the S. of Euboea near Mt Ocha. The neighbourhood was celebrated for its marble quarries. The people were Dryopes (q. v.).

## KASTALIA, c. 39.

A fountain at Delphi at the foot of Parnassos, at the entrance of the ravine which separates the two peaks. It is identified with a spring of remarkably pure water now called *Aio Jänni*.

## KEOS, c. 76.

Some have thought that the Island of Keos opposite the promontory of Sunium is meant: but the distance is too great from Phalerum to allow us to suppose that the Persian left would rest on the Island of Keos. It appears probable that both Keos and Kynosoura are places (though unknown) on the coast of Attica between Phalerum and Sunium; this is the view of Grote, while



Col. Leake places them in Salamis, and with him other commentators agree—Rawlinson, Abicht; while Stein seems to think that both names Keos and Kynosoura belong to the narrow tongue of land in Salamis opposite Psyttaleia, and that Keos was the ordinary name of it, Kynosoura a less known one.

KEIANS, cc. 1, 46.

The inhabitants of Keos, an island lying off the promontory of Sunium, 12 m. long by 8 broad. They were a colony from Athens.

KEKROPIDAE, the, c. 44.

KEKROPS, cc. 44, 53.

Kekrops, father of Erechtheus (q. v.), the mythical first king of Athens: hence the Athenians are called in poetry Kekropidae [compare *Romulidae*, *Aeneadae* as the name for Romans]. Herodotos seems to assert that it was once a real national appellation.

KEPHISOS, c. 33.

The only considerable river in Central Greece. It rises in the range of Oeta, and flows through Doris, Phokis, and Boeotia into the Copaic lake, a reservoir which is relieved by subterranean channels. It receives a considerable number of affluents on both sides in its course. There is another river of the same name in Attica.

KLEINIAS, c. 17.

The father of the great Alkibiades, and a son of a man also named Alkibiades (q. v.). He was killed at the battle of Koroneia, in the war between Athens and the Boeotians B.C. 447 [Plutarch, *Alkibiad.* 1].

KLEOMBROTOS, c. 71.

Kleombrotos, the father of Pausanias, was son of Anaxandridas and twin brother of Leonidas. When Leonidas fell at Thermopylae leaving one son Pleistarchos, a minor, Kleombrotos became regent, but died in the autumn of 479 or spring of 478, and was succeeded in the regency by his son Pausanias.

KILIKIA, c. 14.

KILIKIANS, the, c. 68.

Kilikia is the south-eastern district of Asia Minor bordering on the Mare Internum opposite Kypros. On the east it is bounded by Mt Amanos, though Herodotos extends it to the Euphrates [51, 52]; and on the north it is separated from Kappadokia and Lykaonia by the range of Taurus. It was an important province, because of the length of its seaboard, the fertility of its soil, and its position in regard to Syria.

KORINTHOS, c. 45.



KORINTHIANS, the, cc. 1, 5, 21, 43, 59, 61, 72, 79.

The territory of Korinthos was separated from the Megarid on the north by the range of Geraneia, and from Argolis on the south by that of *Oncum*, 'the Ass's back'. The isthmus averages about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles in breadth, and very little of it is fertile. Korinthos itself consisted of an acropolis, the Acrokorinthos (1900 ft.), with a town round it enclosed with walls, and joined to its harbour on the western coast, Lechaëum, by long walls, like those of Athens, extending a little more than a mile. Its port on the east coast, Kenchreæ, was more than eight miles distant. The position of Korinthos made it naturally the seat of commerce from early times, and in it the art of building ships of war or triremes was first practised. Holding also the pass between northern Greece and the Peloponnese it had a greater influence in Hellenic politics than the character of its rich and luxurious citizens seems to warrant. The prevailing element in its population was Dorian, and its inclination was therefore generally to side with Sparta rather than Athens. In the Persian war it did not play a very dignified or conspicuous part. At Salamis its ships were said to have been turned to flight (8, 94), and at Plataea its soldiers were among those who retreated to the Heraeum and returned too late for the battle [9, 69]. Its ships and men however did some good service at Mykale (9, 102). The wall which the Peloponnesians built across the isthmus, about eight miles east of the town, was often reconstructed afterwards, and remains of one of uncertain date can still be traced. Korinthos was the mother city of many flourishing colonies, Syracuse, Korkyra, Potidaea and others.

KORYKIAN CAVE, the, c. 36.

This cave is at a considerable elevation in Mt Parnassos, above the broad upland plain lying high above the modern village of Delphi. It is a wide chamber 300 feet long by 200 feet broad, with fine stalactites hanging from the top: from this a narrow passage leads into another chamber 100 feet long. It is an excellent place of refuge, and was used for that purpose in the last Greek revolutionary war. It was dedicated to Pan and the Nymphs.

Κοῦρη, ἡ, c. 65.

'The daughter', that is Persephone, daughter of Demeter. It was a name under which she was specially worshipped in Attica. See *Eleusis*.

KRANAIOI, the, c. 44.

An ancient Pelasgic name for the inhabitants of Attica, which seems to mean the 'craggy', i.e. the inhabitants of the craggy land. As usual however it was derived from Kranaos a king of Attica.

## KROESOS, c. 35.

King of Lydia from B.C. 560 to B.C. 546. He completed the conquest of the Asiatic Greeks begun by his father Alyattes (q. v.). When the Persians under Kyros were threatening to subdue all Asia he tried to strengthen himself by alliances with Babylonian Belshazzar, with Amasis of Egypt, and with Sparta (1, 69). He consulted also all the Greek oracles he could hear of and made magnificent offerings to Delphi [1, 51—3]; and thus strengthened he advanced to meet Kyros near Sinope. The battle was not decisive, but Kroesos returning home with a view of renewing the war in the following year, and disbanding his army, was surprised by a rapid movement of Kyros, his capital Sardis taken, and himself made prisoner [1, 76 sq.]. The romantic story of his preservation when on the point of being burnt will be found in 1, 86 sq.

## KRONIDES, c. 77.

Son of Kronos, i.e. Zeus.

## KROTONIANS, the, c. 47.

The inhabitants of a Greek town—Krotona—in Bruttium in the south of Italy. It was a Colony of Achaians established in B.C. 710, and at this time was very powerful. The chief events in its history up to this time had been the establishment of Pythagoras and his School there about B.C. 540, and its destruction of Sybaris B.C. 510.

## KYNOSOURA, cc. 76—7.

'The dog's tail' was the name of a long strip of land near Marathon, but this cannot be the place meant here. In all probability it means a long tongue of land in Salamis. See KEOS.

## KYNURII, the, c. 73.

The inhabitants of a district to south-east of Argolis. It was the possession of this strip of territory lying between Lakonia and the *Mare Myrtoum* that was the cause of the constant enmity between the Argives and Spartans. See *Argos*. The same (prae-Hellenic) people are also found in the West of Arkadia, where their principal city is Gortys.

## KYPRIANS, the, c. 68.

The inhabitants of Kypros, an island opposite the coast of Kilikia. It was especially valuable as connecting Asia Minor with Syria, and especially with the Phoenician navy. It had been under the power of Amasis of Egypt (2, 182), but had been with the rest of Asia and Egypt made tributary to Persia (3, 91); and though it had joined in the Ionic revolt it was reduced by the Persian arms (5, 116). The Island was inhabited by a mixed race;

some cities having been colonised from Salamis and Athens, some from Arkadia and Kythnos, and others by Phoenikians and Aethiopians [7, 90], the earliest settlers being Phoenikians. The island is 150 miles long, and its greatest breadth is about 40 miles.

KYTHNOS, c. 67. KYTHINIANS, the, c. 46.

One of the Cyclades, between Keos and Seriphos, mod. Thermia. Its inhabitants were Dryopian (q. v.) and the Island was at one time called Dryopis.

LAKEDAEMON, c. 48.

LAKEDAEMONIANS, the, cc. 1, 2, 25, 43, 72, 85.

The inhabitants of the whole district, Lakedaemon or Lakonia, over which the city of Sparta (which contained 8000 men, Her. 7, 234) was supreme. Sometimes the word is used as equivalent to 'Spartans', sometimes the two are distinguished and sometimes it is applied to other than the full Spartan citizens, as to the Perioeki in 9, 11; sometimes to all the inhabitants or soldiers of Lakonia. The Lakedaemonians exercised supreme influence in the Peloponnese, though not actual government except in Laconia and Messenia; and though they were not as yet powerful at sea the habit of regarding them as the natural leaders of a joint expedition prevailed even against the claims of Athens founded on her superior fleet.

LEMNOS, cc. 11, 81. LEMNIANS, the, c. 73.

Lemnos (mod. *Stalimene* = *εἰς τὰν Ἀῆνον*) is off the coast of Thrace, about half way between Athos and the Hellespont. It is a rocky island with many signs of volcanic action and possessing two towns Hephaestia and Murina. Its inhabitants were said to have been first a Thracian tribe, the Sinties, who were expelled by the Minyae, the descendants of the Argonauts; these were succeeded by Pelasgians, who in their turn became Atticised, and the island was in the power of Athens from about B.C. 500. For the stories connected with this event, see 6, 137—140.

LEONIDAS, cc. 15, 21, 71.

King of Sparta from B.C. 491 to B.C. 480. He was a younger son of Anaxandridas and succeeded to the kingdom on the death of his brother Kleomenes, whose daughter Gorgo he married, and by whom when he fell at Thermopylae he left a young son, Pleistarchos, under the guardianship of his brother Kleombrotos. Kleombrotos died in the same year and was succeeded in the regency and guardianship of Pleistarchos by his son Pausanias (q. v.). Leonidas seems to have been fully aware of the hopelessness of his position at Thermopylae, and to have done his best to prevent more Greeks being involved in his disaster than could be helped; this unselfishness, joined to his singular gallantry, has secured him the first rank among the patriots of Greece [Her. 7, 204—222].

LEUKADIANS, the, cc. 45, 47.

The inhabitants of Leukadia (*Santa Maura*), a considerable island off the coast of Akarnania, about 20 miles long. Its chief town was Leukas, which was a colony from Corinth, and was at the extreme north of the island, where it was separated from the mainland by a very narrow strait.

LOKRIANS, the.

There were two districts called Lokris, (1) that of the Opuntian Lokrians, (2) that of the Ozolian Lokrians.

(1) OPUNTIAN LOKRIANS, cc. 1, 66.

They inhabited the Eastern half of a district lying on the coast of Malian Gulf separated from Thessaly by the range of Mt Oeta. Their principal town was Opus. They had given earth and water to the Persian emissaries [7, 132] but were now serving the Persians unwillingly, having taken the Greek side at Thermopylae [7, 23].

(2) OZOLIAN LOKRIANS, the, c. 32.

They inhabited a narrow district on the coast of the gulf of Korinth, bounded on the north by Aetolia and on the east by Phokis. It was a mountainous and unproductive country and never played a great part in Hellenic history. The only towns of importance in it were Amphissa (*Salina*) and Naupaktos (*Lepanto*).

LYKOMEDES, c. 11.

A brave Athenian, son of Aeschreas, who gained the prize of valour at Artemisium.

LYSIMACHOS, c. 79.

An Athenian, father of Aristeides (q. v.), of the deme Alopekè, seems to have been a man of small fortune, although Plutarch (*Arist.* 1) says that there was some doubt as to his having had absolutely nothing to leave his son.

Μακεδνὸν ἔθνος, c. 43.

The 'Makedni' was the name which according to Herodotos (1, 56) was borne by the Dorians (q. v.) when settled in Pindos, i.e. Doris. According to the myth Makednos is a grandson of Pelasgos, and son of Lykaon of Arkadia. Thus by this term Herodotos seems to trace a connexion between the old Macedonians and the pre-Hellenic inhabitants of the Peloponnese.

MAKEDONIANS, the, c. 34.

Makedonia, the most northern district of Greece, was separated from Thessaly by the Cambunian range of mountains, and was divided from Illyricum and Epirus on the west by Mts Scardus and Lingon. Though it afterwards, under Philip and his son Alexander,

became supreme over Greece, it possessed no influence there at present, and was scarcely regarded as Hellenic at all. It was in a semi-barbaric state, and was being slowly organised by its kings, who were, or claimed to be, of Argive descent (see Alexander). They had been reduced to subjection to Persia in B.C. 493—2 [Her. 6, 44].

MARDONIOS, cc. 26, 67—8.

Son of Gobryas by a sister of Darius, whose daughter Artazostra he married. He first appears in Greek history as the agent of Darius in B.C. 493 in carrying out a new policy in regard to the Ionian states. The Persian government had insisted on the maintenance of the Tyrants in these cities, but Mardonios now established democracies in them, apparently with the idea of conciliating Greek feeling in favour of the Persian supremacy, a policy so unlike that which had generally been pursued by Persia that Herodotos seems to expect that his assertion will be disbelieved [6, 43]. Mardonios, however, while pushing on his conquests into Europe, sustained reverses at the hands of the Thracians and was removed from his command [6, 45, 94]. We next hear of him as urging the reluctant Xerxes to his great expedition against Greece [7, 5, 9], in which he was one of two commanders-in-chief of the land forces [7, 82]. After Salamis he persuaded Xerxes to return home, and was left behind with 300,000 men to complete the subjugation of Greece. He fell next year at Plataea.

MEDES, the, cc. 31, 40, 43—4, 67, 87.

The Medes were an Aryan people [Her. 7, 62], who when first heard of inhabited a district south of the Caspian, now called Khorassan. Thence they emigrated, and by the middle of the 7th century B.C. were settled in the country known as Media Magna. For a while they were partially or wholly subject to the Assyrian monarchy, but after a time they shook off this subjection and became the dominant power in Asia, a Median monarchy being probably first established about B.C. 635—0 by Kyaxares. This monarch, about B.C. 624, attacked and took Nineveh. From this period the great Assyrian monarchy is divided into two independent kingdoms—Medes and Babylonians. The Medes, under Kyaxares, subdued the part of Asia 'beyond the river Halys' [Her. 1, 103], and even threatened Asia Minor. The successor of Kyaxares, Astyages, was conquered by Kyros at the head of the mountain tribe of the Persians. The result was a new combination, and a new monarchy overrunning the whole of Asia, conquering Babylon and Lydia. This is sometimes called the Persian empire, sometimes the Medo-Persian. We read in Daniel of the 'laws of the Medes and Persians', as though that were the official designation; and the Greeks spoke of their great enemies as 'Medes' or 'Persians' indifferently, and of those Greeks who joined them as 'medizing'; but Herodotos clearly distinguished the two peoples, giving the palm of valour to the Persians.

MEGARA, c. 60. The MEGARIANS, cc. 43, 46, 48, 66.

Megara stood on the Saronic Gulf, a mile inland, with a harbour town of Nisaea to which it was joined by long walls. It was on the road from Athens and Eleusis to the Peloponnese through the isthmus, and its friendship or neutrality was therefore of great importance to Athens and to the Peloponnesians. The district belonging to it—the Megarid—extended right across the N. of the isthmus and contained a port on the Corinthian gulf called Pagae. The Megarians were Ionians, but had been at one time under the dominion of the Dorians of Korinthos. At this time however Megara was independent. Geographically it belongs rather to Attica, for the range of Gerencia shuts it off from Korinthos and was crossed by three difficult passes, whereas it was open towards Attica; and indeed the greater part of it seems once to have been united with Attica politically [Her. 5, 76].

MELIANS, the, [Μηλιεῖς] cc. 43, 66. MELIS, c. 31 [Malis].

The inhabitants of Malis [Mēlis], a district of Thessaly between the R. Spercheios and Mt Oeta. They had given earth and water to the Persian king [Her. 7, 132], and were now serving in the army of Mardonios. Malis was surrounded by mountains, but contained wide plains in which the Persian cavalry had been matched successfully with the Thessalian [id. 7, 196—8].

MELIANS, the, [Μήλιοι] c. 46, 48.

The inhabitants of the island of Melos, one of the Cyclades, south of Siphnos. It is about 15 miles by 8. It was inhabited by Dorians from Sparta, who displaced the earlier Phoenikian settlers: these in their turn were displaced by Athenians in B.C. 416.

Μήτηρ, ἡ, c. 65.

‘The Mother’, that is Demeter, the most venerable of the goddesses; daughter of Kronos. She represented mystically the secret powers of nature, and it was in her name that the most solemn mysteries were celebrated, especially at Eleusis. See *Eleusis*, and *Κόρη*.

MNESIPHILOS, cc. 57—8.

A philosophic statesman of the same deme (Phrearroi) as Themistokles, and one whom Themistokles is said by some to have especially imitated [Plut. *Themist.* 2], as Mnesiphilos himself imitated Solon.

MUNYCHIA, c. 76.

A lofty elevation on the east of the peninsula of the Peiraeus. It had on the summit a sacred enclosure called Bendideion round a temple of the Thracian Artemis.



## NAXIANS, the, c. 46.

The inhabitants of the island of Naxos one of the Cyclades; of which it was the largest and most wealthy [5, 28]. They had resisted the attempt of Aristagoras to force back the exiled oligarchs, which gave rise to the Ionian revolt [5, 30 sq.]; and were afterwards subdued by the Persians and treated with great cruelty [6, 96]. The inhabitants were Ionians, and in B.C. 466 were made subject to Athens [Thucyd. 1, 98].

## NEŌN, cc. 32—3.

A town in Phokis at the foot of a peak of Parnassos called Tithorea. Pausanias says that in the verses of Bakis the inhabitants are called Tithoreis, and he supposes that the latter name supplanted the former in course of time [Paus. 10, 32, 9].

## OENONE, c. 46.

An ancient name of the Island Aegina (q. v.).

## OKYTOS, cc. 5, 59.

A Corinthian, father of Adeimantus (q. v.).

## OLYMPIA, the, cc. 26, 72.

The Olympic festival held every fifth year at Olympia in Elis. At this festival every Hellene had a right to take part in the sacrifice to Zeus Olympios, and to compete in the various contests. While they were going on the Eleans as managers sent notice to the various Greeks that a truce was to be observed, and a state violating this truce would be excluded from the sacrifice and the games [see Thucyd. 5, 49].

## ORCHOMENIANS, the, c. 34.

The inhabitants at Orchomenos in Boeotia. Orchomenos was once the largest and most important town in Boeotia. In the catalogue of ships in the 2nd Iliad 29 towns of Boeotia are mentioned as supplying 50 ships in all, of which Orchomenos sends 30. But in historical times it was surpassed and supplanted by Thebes. It was twice destroyed by Thebes in B.C. 368 and 346, and though restored by the Macedonians never recovered its former importance. It stands in a rich and fertile plain, and was inhabited by the Minyae, whence it is often called the 'Minyan Orchomenos' to distinguish it from the towns of the same name in Arkadia, Euboea, and Thessaly. Its modern name is *Skripa*.

## ORNEATES, the, c. 73.

A general name for the *periœki*—unenfranchised farmers—of Argos. The name arose from the inhabitants of Orneae, probably Achaeans, who about B.C. 580 were conquered by Argos and reduced to this position, just as were the *periœki* of Sparta. Compare



for the title given to a class from a particular town the Italian *Cacrites*, and perhaps the Spartan Helots (q. v.) from Helos, which was the derivation accepted by some. In B.C. 418 we find the Orneatae serving in the Argive army (Thucyd. 5, 72), but in B.C. 416 the Spartans seem to have established at Orneae a settlement of men hostile to the Argive government, and in retaliation the Argives utterly destroyed the town (Thucyd. 6, 7).

Orneae was north-west of Argos on the frontier of Mantinea.

PALLENEUS, c. 84.

A man of the deme Pallene in Attica, of the tribe Antiochis.

PAMPHYLIANS, the, c. 68.

Pamphylia was a narrow tract of country bordering on the Mare Lykium, immediately west of Kilikia, and bounded on the north by Pisidia. Its chief towns were Attalia and Perga.

PANAETIOS, c. 82.

A man of the island of Tenos (q. v.).

PANOPEIS or PANOPE, cc. 34—5.

This town, which was afterwards called Phanoteus, was on the frontier between Boeotia and Phokis in the valley of the Kephisos, on the right bank of the river, about two miles from Chaeronea. It was a mere collection of mountain huts without agora or public buildings. [Paus. 10. 4, 1.]

PARAPOTAMII, or PARAPOTAMIA (Steph. B.), cc. 33—4.

A town in a fertile part of the valley of the Kephisos. Pausanias seems to think that the name belonged rather to a district than a πόλις; and at any rate the town was not restored after the destruction by the Persians.

PARIANS, the, c. 67.

The inhabitants of the island of Paros, the third largest of the Cyclades. The Parians seem to have been a people much respected by other Greek communities [5, 28], and to have been of a peculiarly cautious nature, as evinced in their conduct here recorded, and in their readiness (to avoid farther committing themselves) to pay a sum of money on the demand of Themistokles (8, 112). The only remarkable event in their history up to this time had been the unprovoked and unsuccessful attack upon them by Miltiades [6, 132—8] in the year after the battle of Marathon. The island was celebrated for its marble, and for its figs.

PARNASSOS, c. 27, 32, 35, 37.

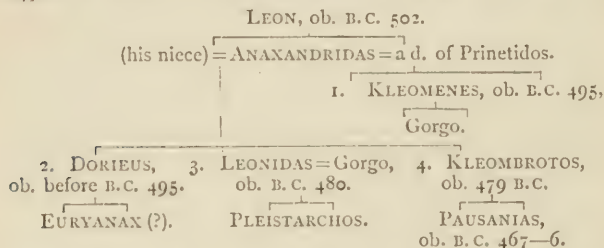
A range of mountains in Phokis, rising at its highest point (Lykorea) 8000 feet. The range terminates in a double peak above Delphi.

## PAROREATAE, c. 73.

'Dwellers by the mountains', a term applied by Herodotos to the inhabitants of a district of Elis south of the Alpheus. They were according to him descendants of the Minyae who were expelled from Lemnos by the Spartans [4, 101].

## PAUSANIAS, c. 3.

Pausanias, the Spartan commander in the campaign of 479 B.C. and commander-in-chief of the Greek forces at Plataea, was of the elder royal family—that is of the branch which was descended from the elder son of Aristodemos, who was fourth in descent from Herakles, see *Herakles*—and was a cousin of Leonidas, as will be seen from the accompanying pedigree [Her. 5, 39—41; 7, 204; 9, 64]:—



Upon his death at Thermopylae Leonidas was succeeded by his son Pleistarchos, a minor, and his brother Kleombrotos became guardian of the young king and regent. Kleombrotos died early in the year 479 B.C., and his son Pausanias then became regent in his place and guardian of Pleistarchos. This was his position when the Peloponnesian army collected to oppose Mardonios. We have no particulars of the life of Pausanias before this date, and his subsequent history is only casually alluded to by Herodotos [5, 32; 8, 3]. But fuller details are given by Thucydides [1, 94, sq.] and by Diodorus Siculus [11, 44—6], and Cornelius Nepos has written a life of him founded on what he found in Thucydides.

The event in his life referred to in the text was his conduct in B.C. 478 when in command of the allied fleet at Byzantium. His haughty and violent conduct caused many complaints to be sent home to Sparta, and he was recalled, and superseded by Dorkis. He was subsequently convicted of treasonable correspondence with Persia and starved to death in the temple of Athenè, in which he had taken sanctuary.

## PEDIEIS, the, c. 35.

A town in Phokis, in the valley of the Kephisos.

## PEISISTRATIDAE, c. 52.

The descendants of Pisistratos, who was tyrannus in Athens from B.C. 560 to 527 with intervals of banishment. His son Hippias was expelled in B.C. 510: and after living for a time in the Troad, had been received at the Persian court (5, 96), and had accompanied the Persian forces at Marathon (6, 107). At the time of the battle of Salamis Hippias was dead, but his descendants and their partizans still seem to have been with the Persian king.

## PELASGI, the, c. 44.

The ancient inhabitants of Greece, who, like the Hellenic immigrations who superseded or absorbed them, were an Aryan race. Herodotos imagines that they spoke a barbarous (non-Hellenic) language, but we have no certain means of deciding whether this be so. They were great builders and reclaimers of land, and settled especially in the rich plains of Thessaly and Argos [1, 57; 2, 51; 6, 137—140].

## PELION, c. 12.

A long ridge of mountains in Thessaly, extending from Ossa to the promontory of Sepias. For a considerable distance it descends precipitously to the sea, and prevents any inlet or harbours for ships.

## PELOPONNESE, the, cc. 40, 43, 49, 50, 57, 60, 65, 68, 70—2.

## PELOPONNESIANS, the, c. 70.

The Peloponnese ('Island of Pelops') is not a name known in Homeric times. In the *Iliad* the only name given to the whole seems to be Argos, for Ephyra in Elis is spoken of as being in *μυχῶ Ἀργεὺς ἱπποβύτιοι* *Il.* 6, 152; cf. *Odyss.* 4, 173 where 'Argos' refers to Laconia, and 3, 251 where the Peloponnese is called *Ἀργὸς Ἀχαιῶν*. And, finally, some have regarded *ἀπὴν* in *Il.* 1, 269, 'the distant land', as a territorial name for the Peloponnese. The name Peloponnese was certainly subsequent to the settlement of the Dorians and was referred by the Greeks to the wealth and power of Pelops son of Tantalus. It contains about 1780 square miles, and at the time of the Persian war was divided into six provinces, Elis, Messenia, Lakonia, Argolis, Achaia, Arkadia—of which the two last were much less Hellenised than the others. Achaia, as its name imports, having served as a place of retreat for the ancient Achaean inhabitants before the invading Dorians, and Arkadia from its strong mountain barriers having been able almost entirely to resist their attack, retained its Pelasgic inhabitants.

## PERSIANS, the, cc. 10, 15—6, 24, 27, 31, 33, 38—42, 45, 51, 58—61, 68, 70—I, 82.

The Persians, an Aryan race like the Medes, were a mountain tribe led down about B.C. 550 by Kyros against the Median king

Astyages in his capital Ecbatana. The overthrow of Astyages was followed in B.C. 546 by the conquest of Lydia, and by that of Babylon in B.C. 538. From the overthrow of Astyages the Median Empire became the Empire of the Medes and Persians; but the royal family still traced their descent from Kyros,—the Mede Darius having married his daughter,—and the Persians still were a distinct race, and in the opinion of Herodotos [9, 68] the best soldiers, and indeed the centre and mainstay of the royal army. A very distinct character of the Persians may be traced in Herodotos; he represents them as 'brave, lively, spirited, capable of witty and keen repartees' [1, 127, 141; 6, 1; 8, 81], 'but vain, weak, impulsive, and hopelessly servile to their lords' [3, 25; 7, 56, 223; 9, 113]. Rawl.

PHALERUM, c. 66—7.

A town on the eastern point of the bay of Phalerum, of which the Peiraeus forms the western point. Before, and at the time of, the Persian war it was the principal harbour of Athens. After that time though joined by a wall to Athens it was superseded by the much safer harbour on the west of the Peiraeus.

PHAYLLOS, c. 47.

A famous athlete of Krotona, who won the Pentathlon twice and the long race once at the Pythian games [Paus. 10, 9, 2]. He is referred to in Aristophanes [*Ackarn.* 215; *Vesp.* 1206] as a kind of type of speed. The Scholiast on the former passage seems to confound him with another Phayllos who won a victory at Olympia in leaping and running in armour, which Pausanias says expressly this Phayllos did not do.

PHILAON, c. 11.

A brother of Gorgos king of Salamis in Kypros (q. v.).

PHILIASIANS, the, c. 72.

The inhabitants of Phlios, a town and small territory to the N. of Argolis and S. of Sikyonia. The people were Dorians and generally in close alliance with Sparta. The territory consisted of a high valley surrounded by mountains. Phlios sent 200 men to Thermopylae [7, 202].

PHOKIS, c. 31—2, 35.

PHOKIANS, the, cc. 27—33.

Phokis was a considerable district bounded on the S. by the Gulf of Corinth, and by Doris and eastern Lokris on the N. It contained the range of Parnassos and the sacred city of Delphi, which however was inhabited by a different race,—probably Dorians. Phokis politically was a confederacy of towns mostly situated in the valley of the Kephisos, and the Phokians were looked upon as a people of Aeolian or Achaean race. They were almost perpetually

at enmity with the Thessalians and indeed had built a wall across the pass of Thermopylae to check their raids [7, 176]; and according to Herodotos their chief motive for not joining the Persians earlier was hatred of the Thessalians. Even when some of them did in the following year join Mardonios, a large number refused and mustering round Parnassos assisted the Greeks [9, 31].

PHOENIKIANS, the, c. 85, 90.

The Phoenikians inhabited the north of Palestine, from which they had sent out numerous colonies to Kypros, Africa, and Europe. Herodotos says that they came to Palestine from the borders of the Red Sea (1, 1). They had been from very ancient times a great sea-faring people, and had had the great bulk of the mercantile business of the Mediterranean. It was they who supplied the greater and most powerful part of the fleet of Xerxes (7, 89), it was they who constructed the bridge of ships across the Hellespont (7, 34), and were the most skilful engineers of the canal across Athos (7, 23). See *Tyre* and *Sidon*.

PHYLAKOS,

(1) c. 39.

One of the national heroes of Delphi. His phantom is said to have again appeared to protect the Delphians when in B.C. 280 the Gauls under Brennus were attacking Delphi [Paus. 10, 23, 3].

(2) c. 85.

A man of Samos, son of Histiaeos.

PINDOS, c. 43.

A town in Doris, on a river of the same name running into the Kephisos. It was one of the Doric tetrapolis, see *Erineos*.

PLATAEA, c. 50.

PLATAEANS, the, cc. 1, 44, 50, 66.

The territory of Plataea was separated from Attica on the S. by Kithaeron,—Eleutherae which came between having voluntarily enrolled itself with Attica [Paus. 1, 38, 8],—and from the territory of Thebes on the N. by the river Asopos. Toward the east, along the valley of the Asopos, it was limited by the village of Hysiae. The town stood 'on the steep and rugged slopes which fall from the heights of Kithaeron into the valley on the north. In this lower ground, and near the walls of the city, two small rivers take their rise, and flow in opposite directions'—Oëroe flowing west to the Corinthian gulf, Asopos to the east into the Euboic gulf. Plataea is 7 miles from Thespieae, 6½ miles from Thebes. The Plataeans had long been disinclined to share the policy of the Boeotian league, and having been accordingly persecuted by the Thebans they had put themselves under the protection of Athens about B.C. 501 [3, 103. Thucyd. 3, 68]. This union had been cemented by the fact

of the 1000 men sent by Plataea alone of the Greek states to help the Athenians at Marathon. The subsequent history of the town includes its siege and destruction by the Thebans in B.C. 429—7, its partial restoration in B.C. 387, a second destruction by the Thebans in B.C. 374, and its final restoration in B.C. 338. At its destruction in B.C. 427 the bulk of its inhabitants were admitted to Athenian citizenship.

POGON, c. 42.

The harbour Troezen, in Argolis; so named from the shape of the bay 'the Beard'.

POLYAS, c. 21.

A man of Antikyra (q. v.) employed as an outlook man on the coast of Trachis.

POSEIDON, c. 55.

Son of Kronos, brother of Zeus, and God of the Sea.

PSYTTALEIA, c. 76.

A small island lying between Salamis and the Peiraeus, now called Lipsokutali. Aeschylus describes it as 'small and offering ill harbourage for ships' [*Pers.* 450]. It is about a mile long, 300 yards broad, and very rocky and low.

SALAMIS,

(1) c. 11.

A town in Kypros, supposed to be a colony from the Island of Salamis led out by Teukros. It was destroyed in Trajan's reign by an earthquake, and restored subsequently under the name of Constantia.

(2) 11, 40—2, 44—5, 49, 51, 56, 60, 65, 70, 74, 76, 81, 86, 89.

An island about 10 miles long off the coast of Attica, between which and the mainland the channel at its narrowest is about 1 mile across. It had belonged to Athens since about B.C. 600, when according to the common statement the claim of the Athenians as against the Megarians was confirmed by five Spartan arbitrators owing to the skilful pleading of Solon [*Plutarch, Solon*, c. 10].

SAMOS, c. 85. SAMIANS, c. 85.

A considerable island off the coast of Caria, rich from its great pottery manufactories. From about B.C. 535 to B.C. 522 it was under the rule of Polykrates, who acquired a powerful navy, extended his dominion over several of the neighbouring islands, warred against Miletos, and wished to form a great confederacy of Ionian states with Samos as the central power. After the fall of Polykrates, in the course of the disputes as to his successor the Persian force in the island inflicted a cruel massacre on the inhabitants, and then



handed the Island over to a brother of Polykrates, Sylosôn, whose son Aeakes continued to hold the tyranny, although tributary to Persia, until the deposition of the Ionian tyrants by Aristagoras in B.C. 500; and when the Persians subsequently restored Aeakes, a number of the Samians accepted the invitation of the people of Zankle (Messina) to go to Sicily and occupy Calacte. Aeakes however appears to have died or been deposed about the time of the battle of Salamis, and Theomestor (q. v.) put in his place [3, 39—47, 54—6, 120—5; 6, 13, 22, 25].

SAMOTHRAKE, c. 90.

A small island opposite the coast of Thrace consisting of a huge volcanic crater Mt Saôke [5,500 ft.]. The inhabitants were originally Pelasgi, and practised a mystic worship called τὰ Καβείρων (= Corybantes, Strab.) ὄργια [2, 51]. The islanders possessed a tract of land on the continent, from Doriskos to Lissos, which was protected by a line of fortresses [7, 59, 108]. It was called 'Thracian Samos' to distinguish it from the larger island near Karia. See Il. 13, 12 ἐπ' ἀκροτάτης κορυφῆς Σάμου ὑλήεσσης Θρηκίης. It was said in still earlier times to have been called Δαρδανία [Steph. Byz.], and still earlier Μελίτη [Strabo].

SEPIAS, c. 66.

A promontory in Magnesia opposite the island of Skiathos.

SERIPHIAN, the, c. 46, 48.

The inhabitants of Seriphos, one of the Cyclades immediately south of Kythnos. It possessed iron and copper mines, but was poor and insignificant, and used in later times by the Romans as a place of exile.

SICILY, c. 3.

At the time of the Persian war the coasts of Sicily were studded with Hellenic colonies. The earliest was Naxos (Tauromenium) settled in B.C. 735 by the Ionians from Chalkis. Naxos in its turn had settled Catana and Leontini. Besides this Chalkis had also settled Zankle (Messene); and Megara had sent a colony to Thapsos (circ. B.C. 700). But the most famous and powerful of all was the Corinthian colony of Syracuse [B.C. 734], which had in its turn sent out at least five other colonies in Sicily, and was possessed of a decisive Hegemony among the other states. These colonies were naturally for the most part on the Eastern and South Eastern coast; on the Western the Carthaginians were making settlements, and the Hellenic colonies in Sicily were engaged in a contest with them at the same time as the eastern Greeks were fighting for life with the Persians.

SIKYONIANS, the, cc. 1, 43, 72.

The inhabitants of Sikyon, a town and district usually classed as part of Korinthia, though it was independent of Korinthos. It lay in



the valley of the Peloponnesian river Asopus. It had formerly been governed by tyranni, of whom we hear of Kleisthenes, the maternal grandfather of the Athenian reformer [5, 67]. The inhabitants were Dorians and were accustomed to act in war under the direction of Sparta [6, 92]; they appear from the same passage to have been wealthy, for they submitted to pay Argos a war indemnity of 500 talents (about £24,000) for joining Kleomenes in his invasion of Argos about B.C. 510.

SIDON, c. 67. SIDONIANS, the, c. 78.

An ancient city of Phoenikia, celebrated as a great mercantile and naval centre, and for its manufactures in embroidery, dyes, and glass. The skill of Sidonian women in embroidery is alluded to in the *Iliad* [6, 292; see Her. 2, 116], as also of its workers in metal [Il. 23, 741]; it was however outstripped in prosperity by Tyre.

SIKINNOS, c. 75.

A Persian by birth, who having been captured and enslaved became the paidagogos of the children of Themistokles, and was employed by him to take his message to Xerxes. Plutarch, *Themist.* 12, 82.

SIPHNIANS, the, cc. 46, 48.

The inhabitants of Siphnos, one of the Cyclades immediately South of Seriphos. The island once possessed gold and silver mines, but when these were worked out it became exceedingly poor and unimportant.

SIRIS, c. 62.

A town in Italy, in the district of Lucania, on the shore of the Gulf of Tarentum and at the mouth of a river of the same name. It was a very ancient town, believed to have been colonised by Trojans,—but between 700–600 B.C. Ionians from Kolophon had settled in it. About 430 B.C. it seems to have fallen under the power of Tarentum, and its inhabitants afterwards were transferred to Heraklea. The Ionian colonisation seems the only conceivable ground for the claim of Themistokles for the Athenians of having any rights there.

SKIATHOS, c. 7.

A small island opposite the promontory of Sepias. A colony of Chalkidians has displaced the former Pelasgic inhabitants.

SKIONE, c. 8.

A city on the peninsula of Pallene. The inhabitants considered themselves to be Achaeans from the Peloponnese [Thucyd. 4, 120, 1]. The town revolted from Athens to the Spartans under Brasidas in B.C. 423, was besieged by the Athenians, and very cruelly treated when taken [id. 5, 32].

## SKIRONIAN WAY, the, c. 71.

The coast road,—the most easterly of the three which passed the Isthmus of Corinth. It owes its name to the fact that for several miles it is carried along a cornice cut in the face of the rocks called the Skironian Rocks, from the name of a mythical robber that haunted the place, and was slain by Theseus.

## SKYLLIAS, c. 8.

A man of Skione, a famous diver. He taught his daughter Hydna the same art. And for their good services on this occasion,—in the course of which they lost their lives,—the Amphictyonic Council honoured them by dedicating statues of both father and daughter at Delphi [Paus. 10, 19, 1—2].

## SOSIMENES, c. 81.

A man of Tenos, father of Panaetios.

## SPARTANS, the, cc. 2, 42.

The Spartans, properly so called, were only those who possessed full citizenship. They were the descendants of the conquering Dorians who had seized the land and reduced the population either to the state of unenfranchised farmers (*perioeki*) or praedial slaves (*Helots*). They were comparatively few in number [about 8000 at this period, 7, 234], and their peculiar institutions tended to check any increase. They were looked upon as the head of the Dorians, and the natural leaders of all Greece in the field; they actually ruled two-thirds of the Peloponnese, and exercised an informal hegemony in the rest, except in Argos. We must distinguish between 'Lakedaemonians' and 'Spartans', the former *Her.* generally uses as including all the inhabitants of Lakonia; the latter refers simply to the ruling class as full citizens. See for instance 9, 28, 'Ten thousand Lakedaemonian troops were on the right wing, five thousand of whom were Spartans'.

## STYRANS, the, c. 1, 46.

The inhabitants of Styra, a town in Euboea, near Karystos, inhabited originally by Dryopians (q. v.).

## SUSA, c. 54.

Susa on the Choaspes (*Ārkāhāh*) was the capital of the province of Susiana, which lies at the head of the Persian Gulf, and is bounded on the East by Persis, and the West by Assyria, and on the North by Media. From the time of Kyros it was one of the chief royal residences [1, 188; 4, 83].

## TELAMON, c. 63.

King of Salamis, father of Ajax and Teukros. See *Acakidae*.

## TELLIAS, c. 27.

A mantis or seer of Elis. Another member of the mantic family of Telliadae is mentioned in 9, 37 as serving Mardonios as seer.

## TENIANS, the, cc. 66, 82, 83.

Inhabitants of Tenos, one of the Cyclades, separated by a very narrow channel from the southern point of Andros. It was also called *Ἱδρωπόσσα* (well-watered), and *Ὀφιούσσα* (isle of snakes), whence the word Tenos is derived from the Phoenician *Taneth* = a snake; and a snake often appears on its coins. The island is about 60 miles in circumference and is famous for its vines.

## TETHRONIUM, c. 33.

A city of Phokis, built on a plain in the valley of the Kephisos.

## THEBANS, the, c. 50.

Thebes subsequent to the Homeric age became the most powerful city in Boeotia, that position being occupied in the Homeric times by Orchomenos. The district of Thebes, the Thebais, a rich corn land, was divided from that of Plataea by the river Asopus. The city was built on an elevation of 150 feet above the plain on a spur of Mount Teumēsus, and the citadel or Kadmeia probably stood at the southern end of the town. The Thebans were believed to be a colony from Phoenikia led by Kadmos. Perhaps this difference of blood may partly account for their zealous medizing; but a long-standing enmity to Athens was the immediate motive. They sent 400 men indeed to support Leonidas at Thermopylae, but these men took the earliest opportunity of deserting to the Persian side [7, 203, 233].

## THEMISTOKLES, cc. 4, 5, 19, 22—3, 57—8, 59, 61—3, 75, 79.

Themistokles was the son of Neokles an Athenian of moderate position. His mother according to some was Abrotonon a Thracian woman, according to others Euterpe of Karia. He was therefore only a half-blood Athenian. But before the age of Perikles the father's citizenship was sufficient to give a man his full rights. His abilities showed themselves early, and he came forward in public life as an opponent of Aristides, and an advocate of a forward and ambitious policy for Athens. He commanded the levy of his tribe at Marathon; but it was between that event and B.C. 480 that he began to exercise a decisive influence in the state. It was on his advice that the profits of the mines at Laurium were devoted to the building a fleet, which, as Herod. says, proved the salvation of Hellas, though their primary object was the prosecution of the Aeginetan war. We see in this book how powerfully he contributed to the successful resistance to Persia in B.C. 480. In the next year the command of the troops at Plataea was committed to Aristides [9, 28], as well as that of the fleet in the following years. In fact

although the reputation acquired by Themistokles in 480 made him the most famous man in Greece, the Athenians seem to have preferred to entrust their most important interests abroad to Aristides. Meanwhile Themistokles at home was busied in carrying out the great works of the town walls, and the fortification of the Peiræus, which he saw offered a harbour far superior to the old one at Phalerum. This latter work was probably not finished at the time of his ostracism. But these things were not carried out without opposition and the loss of popularity. The Athenians liked being told that the Peiræus would enable them if their town were taken 'to fight the world at sea'; but the expenses and self-sacrifice required brought odium on the author of the plans. And his opponents Kimon and Alkmaeon managed about 471 B.C. to secure his ostracism. He retired to Argos, and in B.C. 467 was accused of having been in correspondence with Pausanias, who had been condemned and starved to death at Sparta for treasonable dealings with the Persian court. Orders were given to arrest him; but getting warning he fled to Korkyra, thence to Admetus king of the Molossians, thence to Ephesos. From that town he opened communication with Artaxerxes, was received honourably at the Persian court, and provided with handsome pensions and a residence at Magnesia. There he died, some say by his own hand, because he despaired of giving the King the help he had promised against Athens, or, as the story which Thucydides believed asserted, by a natural death, B.C. 460. Mr Grote seems to assume the guilt of Themistokles in regard to the correspondence with Persia; but not so the authorities used by Plutarch, or Thucydides, who speaks of him with the warmest admiration.

Life by Plutarch. Thucyd. 1, 74—138.

THEOKYDES, c. 65.

An Athenian, father of Dikæos (q. v.).

THEOMESTOR, c. 85.

Son of Androdamas, made Tyrant of Samos in succession to Aeakes who had been restored after the suppression of the Ionic revolt [9, 90]. See *Samos*.

THERMOPYLAE, cc. 15, 24, 27, 66, 71.

The scene of the famous resistance to the Persian invasion and death of Leonidas was a narrow pass between the extremity of Mt Oeta and the sea. The range of Oeta stretches right across Greece, and the passes were few and difficult. It was necessary that so large an army as that of Xerxes should go by this as the shortest and easiest. The narrowest point was that between two mountain streams the Asopus and Phoenix which now fall into the Spercheios, but then into the sea: 'there there was only a narrow causeway sufficient for a single carriage' [7, 199]. Its name was given it on account of some hot sulphur springs. The

nature of the pass is now quite altered, the sea has receded, the Spercheios has brought down so much alluvial deposit that its course is changed, and there is now a broad marshy plain covered by rice-fields between the mountain and the sea.

**THESPIANS**, the, cc. 50, 66, 75. **THESPIAE**, cc. 25, 50.

The inhabitants of Thespiæ, a town of Boeotia about six miles W. of Thebes, which possessed a harbour at Kreusis in the Corinthian gulf. It had suffered much the year before, the Persians having burnt the town [8, 50]. The Thespians had been as loyal as Plataea to the Greek side, partly no doubt from enmity with Thebes. At Thermopylae they were the only men who refused to quit Leonidas in his extremity, and all their 700 perished with him [id. 7, 222, 226]; the rest of the citizens took refuge in the Peloponnese; and 800 of them were with the army at Plataea [9, 30].

**THESPROTIANS**, the, c. 47.

The inhabitants of a district in the south-west portion of Epiros opposite the Islands of Korkyra and Paxos. Their chief town was Ephyra (Kichyros) on the Kokytos. At one time they had the control of the oracle of Dodona, which was at Dramisos.

**THRIASIAN PLAIN**, the, c. 65.

The Thriasian Plain skirted the bay of Eleusis, was divided from Athens by the hills of Aegaleos, and was bounded on the north by Mt Parnes. Through it, close to the coast, went the Sacred Way to Eleusis. The greatest length of the plain is nine miles. It was in parts so low and marshy that the Sacred Way had to be raised like a causeway, while the northern and western part of the plain is stony and barren. Its name was derived from a hamlet close to Eleusis, but of which the exact position is not known.

**THESSALIANS**, the, cc. 27—32.

Thessaly is the province between Makedonia on the N., Epeiros on the W., and Phthiotis on the S. It is a great alluvial plain surrounded by mountains and drained by one river system, that of the Peneus and its tributaries. The plain was exceedingly rich and fertile, and particularly famous for its breed of horses, and accordingly Thessalian cavalry were the most renowned in all Greece. There were several leagues or combinations of towns in Thessaly, the most powerful being that of which the centre was Larissa, but there was no one central government. The Thessalians had joined Xerxes under compulsion [7, 172—4], except in the case of the Aleuadae [7, 6], and were ready to turn against him at the first sign of failure [9, 89].

**TIGRANES**, c. 26.

A Persian, one of the family or clan of the Achaemenidae, to which the royal family of the Persians belonged [1, 125; 3, 65].

## TITHOREA, c. 32.

One of the peaks of Parnassos. The name seems to have also been applied to the district at the foot of the mountain, and to the town of Neon (q. v.). The natives supposed it to have been derived from a mountain Nymph Tithorea. [Paus. 10, 32, 9.]

## TRACHINIA, c. 31.

## TRACHIS, cc. 21, 66.

A town and district at the foot of Mt Oeta in Thessaly. The name (= rugged) is derived from the nature of the rocks surrounding the plain. In B.C. 426 the Lakedaemonians built Heraklea in its territory as a centre of Lakedaemonian influence.

## TRITEEIS, c. 33.

Triteeis or Tritea was a town in Phokis in the valley of the Kephisos.

## TROEZENIANS, the, cc. 1, 43, 72.

The inhabitants of Troezen, a town in the S.-E. corner of Argolis. It was a very ancient town and had long been in alliance with Athens; and when the Athenians quitted their town before the battle of Salamis a large number of their women, children and old men were received at Troezen and honourably entertained, a daily allowance being voted from the treasury, and free leave being given to the children to pluck fruit [Plut. *Them.* 10]. The reason of this was that Troezen, though occupied by the Dorians, retained a large admixture of its original Ionic inhabitants who came from Karia; and there had been from old times a religious connexion between it and Athens as belonging to the same Amphiktyony, the centre of which had been the temple of Poseidon at Kalauria (Poros) in the Troezenian domain. Troezen was the mother-town of Herodotos' native place, Halikarnassos.

## TYRE, c. 67.

An ancient city of the Phoenikians in the North of Palestine. The priests of the great temple of Herakles told Herodotos that the city had been founded 2300 years before his visit, i.e. circ. B.C. 2755 [2, 44]. It consisted of two towns, one on the mainland, the other on two islands half a mile from the coast. Alexander the Great when besieging it made a causeway across this strait, round which sand has accumulated; and the islands are thus connected with the mainland by a sandy neck half a mile broad. At the time of the Persian wars it was still rich and prosperous, with a great mercantile navy, though it was with the rest of Phoenikia subject to Persia. Alexander the Great entirely destroyed its inhabitants, and put in some Karian colonies; and after being a subject of contest between the Egyptian and Syrian kings, who attained those dominions after



Alexander's death, it finally became part of the Roman province of Syria. For an account of its former glories, and its 13 years siege by Nebuchadnezzar, see Ezekiel cc. 26, 27. How completely Tyre fell from its old position may be gathered from the fact that the geographer Stephanos [circ. A.D. 500] under the head of Τύρος merely says *νήσος ἐν Φοινίκη*, not noticing a town at all.

XERXES, cc. 10, 15, 16, 22, 24—5, 34—5, 52, 54, 65—7, 69, 81, 86, 88—90.

Though a younger son of Darius he succeeded to the crown because his mother Atossa was a daughter of the great Kyros, and the Persians only submitted to have a Mede like Darius as king on the condition that by marrying a daughter of Kyros the royal line should be traced to the great Persian conqueror [7, 3—4]. Xerxes had been very doubtful as to the policy of invading Greece, but had been persuaded to do so principally by Mardonios. Though he was the handsomest and most stately man in his whole great army [7, 187], he presents all the worst features of an Eastern monarch, without the personal courage that did something to excuse them in the eyes of his people. If now and then (see 7, 146; 8, 69) some traits of more liberal sentiment or greater insight into justice are related of him, they can do little to relieve the dark colours in which Herodotos portrays this man, whose character may be said to point the moral of the whole of his history. He is the embodiment of swollen pride and unchecked tyranny and luxury, against which the *φθόνος* of the gods is inevitably awakened.

XUTHOS, c. 44.

Son of Hellen, and father of Ion and Achaeos, and therefore the mythical ancestor of the Ionians and Achaeans [7, 93].



## APPENDIX.

### THE IONIC DIALECT.

THE dialect in which Herodotos wrote is called the New Ionic, that is, the language of the Ionic cities of Asia Minor in the fifth century B.C., and those islands of the Aegean colonised by Ionians. By the 'Old Ionic' is meant the language of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* (though it seems probable that the foundation of the language of these poems was Achæan or Aeolic, and that they were Ionicised subsequently), the Homeric Hymns and Hesiod. The oldest Greek literature therefore known to us was written in various developments of the Ionic dialect. The Attic, such as we find it in Thucydides and the Tragedians, is a still later development; but as the Athenian literature (from about B.C. 450 onwards) is best known to us, and has survived in much larger quantity than any other, we for convenience compare the forms of the Ionic dialect with those of the Attic as a standard, although in most cases the Ionic forms are the older. Herodotos [b. B.C. 484], a contemporary of Sophocles, lived just at the parting of the ways when the Attic literature was beginning to supplant all others, yet he deliberately adopted the Ionic dialect as still the best for prose composition, though he was by birth a Dorian. He was, then, writing in an acquired dialect, and was moreover a wanderer and scholar who had conversed with men of all dialects, and studied their writings; it was likely therefore that his style should show signs of modification in word-forms, as well as in idiom, from the standard Ionic; but still the Ionic as we find it in his writings shows decisively how it had developed, sometimes less, and sometimes in a different way, than the other dialects.

Many words are used by him in a sense different from that in which Attic writers of his own time would have used

them, but yet in the same sense in which they are used in Homer; or again, words which had become obsolete, or used only by poets in Athens, are still employed by him in their primitive sense as the natural and prosaic terms. The same phenomenon may be seen in our own and other languages. A Yorkshireman, or an Eastern Counties man, may often be heard using words that are almost or entirely unknown to the Londoner, but which were the ordinary terms in use in the days of Chaucer or even of Shakespear. Even with a printed literature men of the same stock, if divided by place and circumstance, will develop the same language in widely different ways. Take for example the many idioms used by Americans differing from our usage in England, yet of which we may often find the counterpart in our older writers. What was likely then to be the case between two and three thousand years ago, with means of intercourse infinitely less efficacious, and a literature often not written at all, and of course when written infinitely confined in circulation? They did what was natural: each community gradually adopted peculiar terms and idioms; sometimes one retained a more archaic form than another, sometimes the same community would diverge much more than the other from the primitive form. They did not always alter in the same way, and no one division of the Hellenic race could claim a monopoly of archaic forms or a distinct supremacy in primitive correctness. The laws which such phonetic changes follow help us to track the original form through the maze of divergent modification, but they cannot always tell us why one set of people modified less or more than another, or in this way or that. The most marked features of the Ionic as compared with the Attic dialect are (1) that the contraction of two vowels is generally resolved into its component vowels, (2) that the  $\eta$  sound (Etacism) is generally preferred to the  $a$ , though the reverse change is not infrequent.

The following is a conspectus of the variations of the Ionic dialect of Herodotos from that of the Attic<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Taken with modifications and additions from that of Dr K. Abicht, *Uebersicht über den Herodotischen Dialect*. Leipzig, 1869.

## A. LETTERS.

## I. CONSONANTS.

(1) In three words the tenuis takes the place of the aspirated consonant, *δέκομαι, αὖτις, οὐκί* (Att. *δέχομαι, αὐθις, οὐχί*).

(2) In three words the positions of the aspirate and tenuis are reversed, *ἐνθαῦτα, ἐνθεῦτεν, κιθών* (Att. *ἐνταῦθα, ἐντεῦθεν, χιτών*).

(3) *κ* is found in the place of *π* in the interrogative pronouns and adverbs, *κοῖος, κόσος, κότερος, κῆ, κοῖ, κοῦ, κῶς, κίθεν, κότε* [Att. *ποῖος, πόσος* etc.]; in the relatives, *όκοῖος, όκόσος, όκότερος* [Att. *όποῖος* etc.]; and in the adverbs *οὔκοτε, οὐδέκοτε, οὔκω* [Att. *οὔποτε* etc.].

(4) The prepositions *ἀντί, ἀπό, ἐπί, κατά, μετά, ὑπό*, neither in elision nor composition, take the aspirated consonant before an aspirate, e.g. *ἀπ' οὐ, μετ' ᾧ, κατά [= καθ' ᾧ], κατ' ἑνα, ὑπιστάναι, ἀπικνέομαι, ὑπήμμι, μετέντες*. In the same way *οὐκ* does not become *οὐχ* before an aspirate.

(5) *σσ* is not changed into *ττ*, e.g. *θάλασσα, γλῶσσα, τάσσω, ἐλάσσω*, are the invariable forms in Ionic.

(6) *σσ* becomes *ξ*, e.g. *διξός, τριξός*.

## II. VOWELS.

(1) *α* (Attic) into *ε*, as *ἔρσην* 'male', *τέσσερες, ὑπέων* (*ὑπάων*).

(2) *ᾱ* (Attic) into *η*, as *διπλήσιος, πολλαπλήσιος*.

(3) *ā* (Attic) into *η*,

(a) In root syllables, as *ρήϊδιως, ῥήρ, κρήτηρ, νηός, τριήκοντα, πρῆγμα, πέπρηγμα*.

(b) In derivatives, as *θέ-ητρον, νε-ηνίης, ἱρ-ηξ, Αἰγιν-ῆται, ἱ-ητροός, ἀνι-ηρός*.

(c) In compounds, as *γενεη-λογέω, διή-κονος*.

(d) In the adverbs *λάθρη, λίην, πέργη*.

(4) *ā* (Attic) into *ω*, as *παιωνίζω*, *θῶκος*.

(5) *ε* (Attic) into *ᾱ*, as *τάμνω*, *τράπω* [but we find *τρέψω*, *ἔτρεψα*], *μέγαθος*.

(6) *ε* (Attic) into *ι*, as *ίστιή* (*έστία*), *έπίστιος* = *έφέστιος*.

(7) *η* (Attic) into *ᾱ*, as *μεσαμβρίη*, *ἀμφισβατίω*, *πεντακόσιοι*.

(8) *η* (Attic) into *ω*, as *πτώσσω*.

(9) *ω* (Attic) into *η*, as *Φθιῆτις*, *Θεσσαλιῆτις*, *Ἰστιαιῆτις*, and the derivatives *Φθιήτης*, *Ἀμπρακιήτης* etc.

(10) *ο* into *α* as *ἄρρωδέω* [Att. *ὀρρωδέω*].

### III. DIPHTHONGS.

(1) *a* into *αι*, as *αιετός*, *αἰεί*.

(2) *aū* into *ω*, as *θῶμα* [but *θῶυμα*, *θωιμίζω*, also see I. 11], *τῶμα*.

(3) *ε* into *ει*, as *εῖρομαι*, *εἰρωτέω*, *εἰρίω*, *εἰλίσσω*, *εἴνατος*, *εἰνακόςιοι*, *εἵνεκεν*, *κεινός*, *ξεῖνος*, *στεῖνός*.

(4) *ει* into *ε*, as *ές*, *έσω*, *μέζων*, *κρέσσων*, *πλίων*, fem. of adj. in *-υς* as *βαθεία*, *ὀξεία*, and in the tenses of *δεικνυμι*, as *ᾔδξω*, *ἔδεξα*, *δέξαί*, *ἐδέχθη*, *ἐδέδεκτο*, also *ἔργω*, *ἔωθα*, and in all proparoxytons in *-ειος*, *-εια*, *-ειον*, as *ἐπιτήδεος*<sup>2</sup>, *ἐπέτεος*.

(5) *ει* into *ι*, as *ἱκελος*, *προσέκελος*, *ἴλη*.

(6) *ευ* into *ι*, as *ιθύς*, *ιθέα*, *ιθύ*, *ιθύνω* [Att. *εἰθύς*].

(7) *ο* into *ου*, as *μοῦνος*, *ροῖσος*, *ρουσέω*, *Οὔλυμπος*, *οὔνομα*, *οὔνομάξω*, *ὁ οὔρος* (*ῶρος* a boundary), *τὸ οὔρος* (*τὸ ὄρος*), *ὁ οὐδός* (threshold), but *ἡ ὁδός* (way): in trisyllable forms *γούνατα*, *δούρατα*, from *γόνυ*, *δόνυ*.

(8) *ου* into *ω*, as *ῶν* (*οῦν*), *τοιγαρῶν*, *οὔκων*, *γῶν* (*γούν*).

<sup>2</sup> Still the comp. and superl. of *ἐπιτήδεος* seem to be in *-ότερος*, *-έτατος* as though the word were *ἐπιτήδειος*.

## B. SYLLABLES.

## (1) Solution and Contraction.

(a) *ου* into *οε*, as ἀγαθοέργος, δημοέργος.

(b) *οη* into *ω*, as ὀγδώκοντα, and in the following forms of βοᾶν and νοεῖν,—βῶσαι, βῶσασθαι, ἔβωσε, ἐβώσθην, ἐννώσας, ἐννενάκασι, ἐννένωντο, νενωμένος, ἐπενώθη, also βωθέω (βοηθέω).

## (2) Diaeresis.

(a) *ει* into *ηῖ*, (1) in substantives in *-ειᾶ* as βασιληῖη = regnum [but βασίλεια = regina], ἐπιστρατηῖη; (2) in subst. in *-ειον*, as χαλκήϊον, ἀριστήϊον [the forms προόστειον and προαστήϊον are both found, see I, 78; 3, 142]; (3) adjunct. in *-εῖος*, as οἰκήϊον, βασιλήϊος<sup>3</sup>.

(b) *η* into *ηῖ*, as δηϊώω, κληῖς, χρηῖζω, Θρηῖκίη.

(c) *φ* into *ωῖ*, as πατρώϊος, πρωῖ [except ζῶον, ῥών, Τρωάς, Κῶος, Ἀχελῶος].

## (3) Elision.

(a) *ν ἐφελκυστικόν* is not used in the Ionic of Herodotos<sup>4</sup>. οὔτω does not become οὔτως before a vowel (9, 82).

(b) Elision (comparatively rare) takes place in (1) the prepositions ἀμφί, ἀνά, ἀντί, ἀπό, διά, κατά, μετά, παρά, ὑπό; (2) in most cases where ἄμα stands before a vowel; (3) most frequently in ἀλλά, δέ; (4) often in μηδέ, οἰδέ, τε, γε.

## (4) Crasis.

(a) Like Attic, τᾶλλα, ταῦτά, τὰγάλματα, τὰνθρώπου, τᾶλήθεος.

<sup>3</sup> Exceptions are the proper names Δαρειός, Ἀργεῖος, Ἠλεῖος, Καδμείος.

<sup>4</sup> In some MSS. however, the *ν ἐφελκυστικόν* is used throughout. It appears also in the oldest MS. of the treatise written by Lucian in imitation of the dialect and style of Herodotos. In the oldest Ionic we possess, that of the Iliad, it of course frequently occurs.

(b) ο, οι, and ω with α, οἰήρ, ὄνθρωπος, ὄνθρωποι, οὐ-  
τερος, τοῦτερον, τᾶτερα, ὄλλοι, τῶρχαῖον, τῶληθές, τῶπό, ὄνθρωπε,  
ὄναξ.

(c) In the reflexive pronouns ἐαυτοῦ, ἐμαυτοῦ, σεαυτοῦ,  
which in Ionic would be εἰο αὐτοῦ, ἐμέο αὐτοῦ, σέο αὐτοῦ, we  
have ἐουτοῦ, ἐμεουτοῦ, σεουτοῦ. From ὁ αὐτός, ὡτός, ὡτοί,  
τῶυτό.

(d) Four with καί, καλὸς κίγαθός, κάκεῖθε, κάκεῖνος,  
κάμοί (as in Attic).

### C. DECLENSION.

[The dual forms are not used in Herodotos.]

#### I. SUBSTANTIVES AND ADJECTIVES.

##### *First Declension.*

(1) The gen. plur. ends in -εων, as γνωμέων, τιμέων,  
γενεέων, γενεή, πασέων, μελαιρέων, αὐτέων (f.) [but we must ex-  
cept from this rule adjectives, pronouns and participles in  
-ος, -η, -ον which have their gen. plur. fem. paroxyton, as  
ἄλλων, φίλων, ἐκείνων, ἀλίσκομένων, τούτων].

(2) Dat. pl., universally in -ησι or ῆσι, as γνώμησι, αὐτῆσι.

(3) ā in all cases of the sing. becomes -η as χώρη,  
-ῆς, -ῆ: ἰσχυρή, -ῆς, -ῆ. The ă is retained in nom. and acc.  
but becomes η in gen. and dat. as

ἀλήθεια, -ᾶν, -ῆς, -ῆ

μοῖρα, -ᾶν, -ῆς, -ῆ

μία, -ᾶν, -ῆς, -ῆ.

(4) Words in -ης make the gen. sing. in -εω and are  
proparoxyton, as

πολήτης	}	sing.
— ῆτην		
— ῆτεω		
— ῆτη	}	plur.
— ῆτας		
— ῆτέων		
— ῆτησι		

Like this are declined proper names Μίδης, Λεωνίδης, Πέρσης, Ξέρξης<sup>5</sup>: also δεσπότης, except that the acc. δεσπότεα occurs I, II; 91.

(5) Words that in Attic are contracted are written in the uncontracted form in Herodotos, as μνᾶ, συκῆ, in Herodotos

[μνᾶ]	συκῆ
μνᾶι	-έης
μνέων	-έην
μνέας	συκῆαι
	συκέων

χρυσέος, -έη, -έον
— -έον, -έην, -έον
— -έου, -έης, -έου
— -έω, -έη, -έω

### Second Declension.

(1) The only peculiarity in case-ending is the dat. plur., which always ends in -οισι or -οῖσι, as λόγοισι, θεοῖσι, καλοῖσι.

(2) Words in -οος, -οη, -οον or -εος, -εη, -εον are not contracted, as πλόος, ἀπλόος, -όη, -όον, ὀστέον, χρύσεος, -έη, -εον.

(3) The so-called 'Attic Declension' in -ως is confined to proper names in Herodotos, as Ἀρκεσίλειως, Μενέλειως (from λεώς), as also Μίνως, Ἀθως, Ἀμφικίρεως. Instead of λεώς, νεώς, κάλως, λαγώς Herod. uses ληός, νηός, κάλος, λαγός. So also instead of πλέως, ἴλεως, ἀξιόχρεως Herod. uses πλέος, -η, -ον, ἴλεος, -ον, ἀξιόχρεος, -ον. Thus too the words compounded of γῆ, as βαθύγεως, μελάγγεως, μεσόγεως, ὑπόγεως, are represented in Herod. by βαθύγαιος, μελάγγαιος, μεσόγαιος, ὑπόγαιος.

(4) Herod. generally uses πολλός, -ή, -όν, though he also uses the commoner πολύς, πολλή, πολύ.

<sup>5</sup> But the accusative Ξέρξεα in 8, 69; 9, 1 is supported by some good MSS., as also Λυκίδεα in 9, 5.



*Third Declension.*

(1) In the uncontracted and imparisyllabic words the forms used by Herod. are the same as those used by Attic writers.

(2) The contracted declensions are declined as follows :

βασιλεύς	πόλις	νηϋς
-λέος	πόλιος	νεός
-λεῖ	πόλι	νηῖ
-λέα	πόλιν	νέα
-λεῦ		
-λέες	πόλιες	νέες
-λέων	πολίων	νέων
-λεῦσι	πόλισι	νηυσί
-λέας	πόλις	νέας

Like πόλις are declined ἔβρις, ὄψις, φύσις, κρίσις, πίστις, παίδεισις, κατάστασις, χῆτις, etc., and the proper names Τόμυρις, Μοῖρις, Σμέρδις, Σάϊς, Ἄπις, Ἀμασις, Δάτις, Μέμφις, Θέτις, Πάρις, Ἰσις and the plural Σάρδιες, -ιων, -ισι, -ιας.

But	Ἄρτεμις, -ιδος, -ιδα
	ἔρις, -ιδος, -ιν
	χάρις, -ιτος, -ιν

(3) Neuters in -ος, substantives and adjectives in ης, subst. in -υς and -υ, and adjects. in -υς resolve all contractions :

γένος	Ἀστυάγης	ἀληθής -ές
γένεος	-γεος	ἀληθέος
γένεϊ	-γεῖ	ἀληθεῖ
γένεα	-γεα	ἀληθέα -ές
γενέων		ἀληθέες -έα
γένεσι		ἀληθέων
		ἀληθέσι
		ἀληθέας -έα

Proper names contracted to -κλήs are thus declined :

Θεμιστοκλήs VOC. -κλεs

-κλέος

-κλέϊ

-κλέα

Thus Περικλήs and Ἡρακλήs.

(4) Substantives in -ωs and -ω, such as αἰδώς, ἡώς, εὐεστώ, πειθώ, are declined as in Attic, except that some proper names as Ἴω, Λητώ make the accus. sing. in -οῦν.

(5) Neuters in -as, as γέρας, κέρας, τέρας, have their genitives and datives sing. and plur., and acc. plur., in -εος, -εϊ, -εων, -εσι, -εα [not -αος, etc.] with the single exception of γῆρας, -αος, -αῖ.

## II. PRONOUNS.

(1) Personal Pronouns [ἐγώ, σύ, ἐ].

(a) Herod. uses the uncontracted forms of the gen. sing. ἐμέο, σέο, ἔο, and rarely ἐμεῦ, σεῦ, ἐῦ.

(b) Dat. σοί, but in enclisis τοι.

(c) For the dat. m. and f. αὐτῷ Herod. uses οἱ. Acc. μιν=αὐτὸν -ῆν and ἐαυτὸν -ῆν, and also for αὐτό.

(d) The nom. and dat. plur. of the three personal pronouns are the same as in Attic. The third person plural is

N. σφεῖs,

A. σφέας,

G. σφέων,

D. σφίσι, σφι

but σφίσι and σφι differ in usage; σφι (enclitic)=αὐτοῖs or αὐταῖs, σφέας=αὐτούs, -ás, but σφίσι=ἐαυτοῖs or ἐαυταῖs.

The gen. and acc. plur. are not contracted

ἡμέων

ὑμέων

σφέων (σφέων)

ἡμέας

ὑμέας

σφέας (σφέας)

Herodotos also uses σφε as acc. 3rd per. of all genders and numbers, and σφέα=αὐτά (n. pl.).

## (2) Relative Pronouns.

(a) *ὅς, ὅσπερ*, in nom. sing. and plur.

*ὅς, ἦ, τό*  
*οἱ, αἱ, τὰ*

but in oblique cases the consonantal form is used, as

G. *τοῦ, τῆς, τοῦ*  
*τῶν, τῶν, τῶν*, etc.

Note 1. Of the prepositions not admitting of elision *ἐν, ἐκ, ἐς*, *περί, πρό, πρόσ, σύν, ὑπέρ*,

*πρό* and *ὑπέρ* seldom occur with simple relative.

*περί* usually follows its case, as *τῆς πέρι*.

*ἐν, ἐκ, ἐς, πρόσ, σύν*, take the consonantal form, as *ἐν τῷ, σύν τοῖσι* etc. Except where *ἐν, ἐξ, ἐς* form with the relative an expression of time, as

*ἐν ᾧ*=*quo tempore*  
*ἐς ὃ*=*usque ad id tempus*  
*ἐξ οὗ*=*ex quo tempore*.

So also *ἄχρι οὗ, μέχρι οὗ*.

Note 2. On the other hand the prepositions which admit of elision—*ἀντί, ἀπό, διὰ, ἐπί, κατά, μετά, παρά, ὑπό*—take only the aspirated form of the relative, *οὗ ἦς, ἐπ' ᾧ* etc., except when they follow their case, as, *τῷ πάρα* [but *παρ' ᾧ*].

(b) *ὅστις, ὅ τι* do not take the consonantal form. In place of the Attic *ὅτου, ὅτῳ, ὅτοισι* Herod. uses *ὅτεν, ὅτέῳ, ὅτέοισι*, and for *ἅτινα* he has *ἅσσα* (not *ἅττα*).

(:) Interrogative and indefinite Pronoun *τις*

<i>τις</i>	<i>τίνες</i>
<i>τέο (τεῦ)</i>	<i>τέων</i>
<i>τέῳ</i>	<i>τέοισι</i>
<i>τίνα</i>	<i>τίνας</i>

## D. CONJUGATION.

## I. The Augment.

The usage of Herodotos with regard to the temporal and syllabic augments is the same as in Attic<sup>6</sup> with the following exceptions:

(a) The temporal augment is omitted in purely Ionic forms, such as, ἀγινέω (ἄγω), ἀμείβομαι, ἀναισιμώω, ἀρρωδέω, ἀρτέομαι (ἀρτάω), ἐσσώω (ἤσσάω), ὀρτάζω (ἐορτάζω), οὐρίζω [but ὠνόμασται 9, 32, though the Ionic form οὐνομάζω is given in some MSS.; in 9, 44 however they all have ὀνομάζω], ἔργω (εἴργω)<sup>7</sup>.

(b) Also in the poetical verbs, ἀεθλέω, ἀλυκτάζω, ἐλινύω.

(c) Also in all verbs beginning with the diphthongs αι, αυ, ει, ευ, οι, as, αἰδέομαι, αἰνέω, αἰρέω, αἰτέω, αὔξω, εἰρωτέω, εὔδω, εὐτυχέω, εὐρίσκω, οἰκέω, ἀνοίγω, οἴχομαι.

(d) Also in the verbs ἑάω, ἐργάζομαι, ἕωθα [pluperf. ἑώθεα], while on the other hand the augmented forms ἦσαν, εἶχον, ἦλθον, ἦλασα are always found.

(e) In cases of double augment the syllabic is omitted as ὦρεον [Att. ἐώρων].

(f) Neither temporal nor syllabic augment occurs in verbs with frequentative termination, as ἄγесκον, ποιέесκον, βαλεσκόμην.

II. Change of ν into α, when -ται or -το comes immediately after the stem.

(a) In the 3rd pers. plur. of perf. and pluperf. pass.: FIRST in impure forms, as ἀπίκατο, ἐτετάχατο, τετύφαται, ἀγωνί-  
δαιται, ἐσκευάδαιται, δεδέχαιται, ἀπίκαται, διεφθάρατο; in these

<sup>6</sup> The augment, as in Attic, is often omitted in the pluperf., as τετελυτήκεε, δέδοκτο, ἐνδεδύκεε, etc. And when πρὸς is compounded with an augmented word there is no contraction, as προέβαινε, προέβαλε (not προῦβαινε etc.).

<sup>7</sup> Under this head may come the fact that the MSS. seem to favour ὠρμηται (see 4, 16), but ὀρμέατο (1, 158; 9, 61).

forms the Root consonant is aspirated except when it is δ, and in the word ἀπικάται -ο; SECOND in pure Roots, the preceding vowel being shortened, as ἡπιστέατο, ἡγάαται, ἡρτέαται, οἰκέαται, κέαται, ὠρμέαται, βεβλέαται, ἀναπεπτέαται, ἀποκεκλέατο, ἐνεπιδεικνύατο, ἐκεκοσμέατο.

(b) In the 3rd pers. plur. pres. and imperf. pass. of verbs in -μι, as τιθέαται, ἐτιθέατο, ἰστέαται, δυνέαται, ἔαται, κατέατο, ἐκδιδύαται.

(c) in optative endings pres. or aor., as ἀγοίατο, βουλοίατο, γευσαίατο, τισαίατο, ἀνελοίατο.

### III. Resolution of Contractions :

(a) pluperf. -εα, -εας, -εε, -εσαν, as ἑώθεα, ἑώθεας, ἑώθεε, ἑώθεσαν, ἐληλύθεε, ἑόργεε.

(b) 2nd pers. indic. midd. and pass.

primary tenses -εαι, as οἴχεαι, ἔσεαι.

historic „ -εο, as ἐγένεο, ἐπίκεο.

So also the present imperat. midd., as ἔπεο, πείθεο, ἀπαλλάσσεο. But the 2nd pers. sing. of the subj. midd. is always contracted, as οἴχη, γίνη, θέξη, ὑποθήκη. Also 2nd aor. infin. act., as μαθεῖν, ἐλθεῖν, σχεῖν.

(c) ᾠ resolved into -έω in the Aorist subj. pass. of all verbs, in the 2 aor. subj. of verbs in -μι or verbs formed on the analogy of verbs in -μι, as αἵρεθέω, ἐσσωθέωμεν, ἐξαναστώμεν, προσθέω, θέωσι (ἔθην), βέω (ἔβην), but the 2nd and 3rd persons are contracted, as νικηθῆς, φανῇ, ἐκβῇ, θῇται.

(d) In Verbs in -εω, -αω, -οω, the uncontracted forms are used:

(I) -εω, as

pr. καλέω	-έομαι	subj. καλέω	-έωμαι	opt. καλείομι	-εοίμην
καλέεις	-έη	καλέης	-έη	καλέοις	-έοιο
καλέει	-έεται	καλέῃ	-έηται	καλέοι	-έοιτο
imperat. κάλεε					

imperf. ἐκάλεον

-εόμην

ἐκάλεες

-εο

ἐκάλεε

-έετο

infin.

καλέειν

part.

καλέων

part. mid. ap.

καλέόμενος

Note 1. The only exception is *δεῖ*, *δεῖν*, the imperfect of which however is *ἔδεε*. In five verbs *ἀγνοέω*, *διανοέομαι*, *θηέομαι*, *νοέω*, *ποιέω*, in which the termination *-εω* or *-εομαι* is preceded by a vowel, *εο* or *εου* becomes *ευ*, as *ἀγνοεῦντες*, *ἐθηεῦντο* (*ἐθηέοντο*), *θηεύμενοι*.

The imperfect of *θηέομαι* has the Attic contraction, as *ἐθηεῖτο* (1, 10).

*ποιέω* has *ευ* throughout, *ποιεῦσι*, *ποιεῦντες*, *ἐποίησιν*<sup>8</sup>, *ποιεῦμαι*, *ποιεῦμενος*, *ἐποιεύμην*, *ἐποιεῦντο*.

*εω* remains uncontracted, as *νοέων*, but *ση* becomes *ω*, as *γενωμένον*.

Note 2. This rule of resolving contractions applies also to liquid futures, as *ἐρέω*, *κερδανέεις*, *ὑπομενέουσι*, *κατακοντιέει*, *κομιέει*, *ἀτρεμέειν*, *κομιέαι* (mid.), *χαριέεσθαι*, *ἀπολέοντες*, but when a vowel precedes *εο* or *εου* they become *ευ*, as *ἀνταγωνιεύμενος*, *κομιεύμεθα*, *ὀπωριεῦνται*, *ἐπιστιεύμενοι*<sup>9</sup>.

## (2) verbs in -αω

(a) With exception of the disyllable verbs *κλάω*, *ψάω*, *σμάω* [also *ἐῶ*, *βιῶμαι*, *ἰῶμαι*] all contractions are resolved not into *-αω* *-αο* *-αου*, but into *-εω* *-εο* *-εου*, as *ὀρέω*, *ὀρέουσι*, *ὀρέων*, *ὀρέομαι*, *ὀρεόμενος*. On the other hand *-αι*, *-αε* become *-ᾱ* and *-α* as

*ὀρέω*, *ὀρᾶς*, *ὀρᾶ*  
*ᾠρεον*, *ᾠρᾶς*, *ᾠρᾶ*

[though in 8, 36 the best MSS. have *ἀπώρων*].

(b) And as in verbs in *-εω*, when a vowel precedes *-εο* or *-εου* they become *ευ*, as *ἀνιεύνται*, *βοεῦντες*.

(c) The future of *ἐλαύνω* is *ἐλέω*, *ἐλέων*.

(d) *χράω*, *χράομαι*, contract in *α* [Attic *ἦ*], as *χρέομαι*, *χρᾶται*, *χρᾶσθαι*, *χρεώμενος*<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> *ἐποίησιν* 8, 64; 9, 25 etc., but also *ἐποίηον* 9, 8 and 11; *ποιέεο* 8, 68.

<sup>9</sup> In 9, 6 we have *ἀμννεῦσι* for *ἀμννέουσι* although *-εου* is not preceded by a vowel; cp. *βάλεν* for *βάλου* [*εο*] 8, 68; *δοκεῦντα* 9, 77.

<sup>10</sup> In 9, 24 as in 4, 151; 7, 34; 9, 41, etc. one MS. (P) gives *χρεόμενοι*, but the greater authority in all cases seems to be for *χρεώμενος*, while the best MSS. give *χρεόν* (not *χρεών*) as the neut. part.; see 9, 46 etc.

(c) But in tenses of verbs in -*ω* where the Attic has *ā*, the Ionic has *η*, as *βιηθῆναι*, *βιῆσασθαι*, *πειρηθῆναι*, *πειρήσασθαι*.

(3) Verbs in -*όω*.

The verbs in -*όω* are contracted as in Attic, except that when -*ωω* or -*οου* are preceded by a vowel they become *ευ*, as *ἀντιείμενος*, *δικαιεῖσθαι*, *οἰκηιούνται*, *ἀξιεύμεθα*, *ἐξομοιεύντες*, *δικαιεῖσι*. Thus *ἀξιόω* is conjugated in Herodotos

Pres.	Imperf.
<i>ἀξιῶ ἀξιεύμεν</i>	<i>ἡξίειν ἡξιεύμεν</i>
<i>ἀξιοῖς ἀξιοῦτε</i>	<i>ἡξίους ἡξιοῦτε</i>
<i>ἀξιοῖ ἀξιεύσι</i>	<i>ἡξίου ἡξίειν</i>
Mid. Inf. <i>ἀξιοῦσθαι</i>	Part. Mid. <i>ἀξιεύμενος</i>
	Imperf. M.
	<i>ἡξιεύμην</i>
	<i>ἡξιεῖ</i>
	<i>ἡξιοῦτο</i>
	<i>ἡξιεύμεθα</i>
	<i>ἡξιοῦσθε</i>
	<i>ἡξιεύντο</i>

Thus also, *ἀντιεύνται*, *ἐτεροειύντο*, *ἐδικαιεύντο*.

IV. Verbs in -*μι*.

- (a) *τίθημι*, *τιθεῖς* *τιθεῖ...τιθεῖσι*  
*ἵημι*, *ίεις* *ίει...ίεισι*  
 like a verb in -*εω*.  
*ἵστημι*, *ιστᾶς* *ιστᾶ...ιστᾶσι*  
 like a verb in -*αω*.  
*δίδωμι*, *διδούς* *διδοῖ...διδούσι*  
 like a verb in -*οω*.

Note 1. Perf. pass. part. of *μετίημι*, *μεμετιμένος* (Attic *μεθεμένος*).

Note 2. Imperf. ind. act. of *τίθημι*,

*ἐτίθεα*, *ἐτίθεες*, *ἐτίθεε*  
*ἐτίθημεν*, *ἐτίθετε*, *ἐτίθεσαν*.

- (b) *ἵστημι*.



The 2nd and 3rd pers. plur. perf. are ἔσταντε and ἐστᾶσι.  
Partic. perf. ἐστέως.

(c) δείκνυμι.

The 3rd pers. plur. pres. indic. is δεικνῦσι (Attic δεικνύασι).

Pres. partic. δεικνύων. Imperf. indic. ἐδείκνυον -ες -ε.

(d) εἰμί *sum*.

2nd pers. sing. εἶς [Attic εἶ]. 1st pers. plur. εἰμέν [Attic ἐσμέν]. 3rd p. plur. εἰσί [but ἔασι in an oracle I, 66].

Subjunct. ἔω. 3rd p. plur. ἔωσι.

Opt. εἴην. 3rd p. plur. εἴησαν (εἶεν)<sup>11</sup>.

Part. ἐὼν ἐοῦσα ἐόν.

Imperf. ἦν, ἦσθα, ἦ [ἔσκε I, 196: 6, 133, and ἦε I, 181, and ἔην 7, 143]. ἦσαν [ἔσκον 4, 129; I, 196].

Another form less frequent is

ἔα (2, 19), ἔας (I, 187), ...ἔατε (5, 92).

(e) εἶμι *ido*.

Imperf. indic. ἦια, ἦιε, ἦισαν [Att. ἦα, ἦε, ἦεσαν].

(f) οἶδα, οἶδας, οἶδε, ἴδμεν, ἴστε, οἶδασι.

For ἴδμεν is found οἶδαμεν [2, 17; 4, 46; 7, 214], συνοἶδαμεν [9, 60].

Subj. εἰδέω. Opt. εἰδείην.

Pluperf. (= imperf.) ἦδεα, ἦδεε, ἦδέατε, ἦδεσαν.

## E.

(1) ὦς is often used for οὔτω.

(2) The following Ionic Verb forms also are to be noted:

(a) 1st aor. for εἶπον

εἶπας, 9, 45,

εἶπαν, 9, 11,

ἀπειπάμεθα, 9, 7,

εἶπαι, 8, 68.

(b) From λαμβάνω

λάμψομαι, 9, 31,

<sup>11</sup> In 7, 6 we have ἐνέοι as though from ἐνέοιμι.

καταλαμφθέντες, 9, 58,  
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ἀπολελαμμένοι, 9, 51.

(c) From φέρω

ἐσεννηεῖχθαι (ἐννηεῖγμαι), 9, 41,  
ἐξεννηειγμένος, 9, 72,  
ἐπενείκας, 8, 10,  
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(d) αἶρειν (ἀείρειν)

ἀερθέντες, 9, 52.

(e) δείκνυμι

fut. δέξω,  
1st aor. ἔδεξα, δέξαι,  
ἐδεξάμην, ἐδέχθην,  
perf. pass. δέδεγμαι,  
plup. pass. ἐδέδεκτο,  
imper. pass. δεδέχθω, 8, 8.

(f) εἴκω

perf. οἶκα, 4, 82; part. οἰκώς, -ός, 8, 9.

(g) πλώειν = πλεῖν, and so throughout, see p. 3, l. 12.

(h) ἀξάμην, ἄξαντο [ἄγω], 8, 20.

(i) ἀναγνώσαι, 8, 57—8.

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